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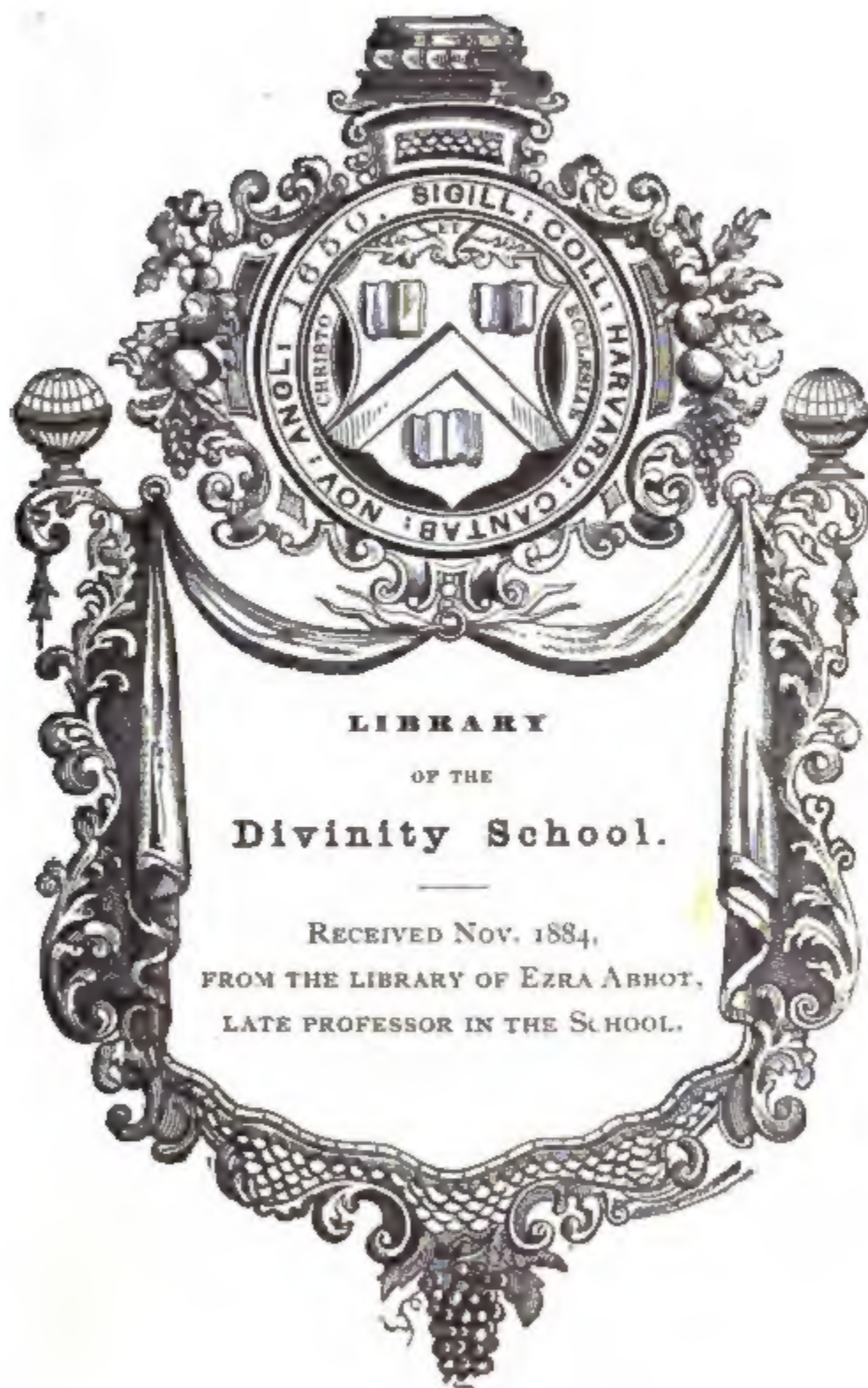
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REPORT
AND
COLLECTIONS
OF THE
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF WISCONSIN,

For the Years 1873, 1874, 1875 and 1876.

VOLUME VII.

MADISON, WIS.:
E. B. BOLENS, STATE PRINTER.

1876.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Seventh volume of *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society will, in many respects, be regarded, if not superior, at all events not inferior, to any of its predecessors.

Dr. Butler's carefully prepared monograph on *Pre-Historic Wisconsin*, with special reference to the remarkable collection of implements of the Copper Age, gathered principally by the indefatigable efforts of F. S. Perkins, and recently added to the Society's Cabinet; Dr. Butler's paper on the Westphalian medal, found, a few years since, within our borders; and Dr. Shea's happy delineation of the adventurous career of Marquette and Jolliet in the discovery of the Mississippi two centuries ago, all serve to carry us back to a remote period, invested with the deepest interest, and replete with instruction.

Mr. Tasse's exhaustive Memoir of Charles de Langlade, Wisconsin's pioneer settler, made up largely from original sources, will deservedly attract attention. To Mrs. Sarah Fairchild Dean the Society is indebted for the translation of this valuable paper from the French; and to Prof. Butler for the translation of some additional matter subsequently furnished by the author, in the absence of Mrs. Dean.

The respective papers of Gen. Ellis, and Mr. Kingston, together with those of the late Henry Merrell, Judge Ellis, and others, will prove a treat to the lovers of our primitive history. They unitedly serve to add not a little to the elucidation of the early events and pioneer men of Wisconsin.

L. C. D.

Madison, Sept., 1876.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and the Black Hawk war; biographical notes of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased; and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Diaries, narratives, and documents relative to our late civil war, and more especially of the part enacted by Wisconsin officers and soldiers—their heroic exploits, sufferings and services.

3. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues; minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and other publications relating to this State, or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1835—and hence the Territorial Laws and Journals, and files of Michigan newspapers of that period, we are particularly anxious to obtain.

4. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

5. Information respecting articles of Pre-Historic Antiquities—especially of copper implements—or ancient coin or other curiosities found in Wisconsin; together with the locality and condition of their discovery. The contribution of such articles to the cabinet of the Society is earnestly desired.

6. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their significations.

7. Book of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels and biography in general, and the West in particular. Family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

8. We solicit from Historical Societies, and other learned bodies, that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of Institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our ability.

9. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works, for its library.

10. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library—or, at least, such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, geography, or antiquities, all which will be carefully preserved for binding.

Packages for the Society may be sent to, or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article; and it would, furthermore, be desirable, that donors should forward the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

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Art - Gallery—S. H. CARPENTER, DELAPLAINE, MILLS, FAIRCHILD, VILAS, DOYLE, and REYNOLDS.

Historical Narratives—PINNEY, FAIRCHILD, ORTON, TENNEY, and DRAPER.

Indian History and Nomenclature—CHAPMAN, BUTLER, ALLEN, STEVENS, and REYNOLDS.

Lectures and Essays—ROSS, BUTLER, CONOVER, PARKINSON, and DURRIE.

Soliciting Committee—CHAPMAN, HOBBS, BRALEY, KUEHN, and PROUDFIT.

Annual Address—SMITH, PINNEY, ROSS, FAIRCHILD, and GURNEE.

Membership Nominations—MILLS, CHAPMAN, VILAS, GURNEE, and PROUDFIT.

Library, Purchases, and Fixtures—DRAPER, CONOVER, and DURRIE.

Pre-Historic Antiquities of Wisconsin—BUTLER, PERKINS, ALLEN, CONOVER, and BRALEY.

Obituaries—ATWOOD, DRAPER, SMITH, BRALEY, ROSS, and TENNEY.

ANNUAL REPORTS
OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Nineteenth Report.

Submitted January 2, 1873.

In submitting a statement of the Society's doings and progress for the past year, we have nothing of an extraordinary character to report. We have had no windfalls in the way of large donations, and yet the year's accumulations, when properly analyzed and aggregated, will show as healthy a growth as at any former period.

FINANCIAL CONDITION—BINDING-FUND

The Treasurer's report exhibits the year's receipts into the General Fund at \$3,598.29, and the disbursements \$3,614.67, showing an over-payment of \$16.38. Of this expenditure, \$638.79, were for cataloging the library, freight charges, and incidental expenses; while \$2,975.88 were expended for books, magazines, reviews, newspapers and binding.

The Binding Fund last year was reported at \$656.38. During the year a donation of \$20 from Rev. R. M. Hodges, and one dollar each from F. T. Haseltine, J. B. Holbrook, and N. H. Nicholson; the sale of duplicate books; the annual dues, and accrued interest, have increased this Fund to \$829.81.

LIBRARY ADDITIONS.

The book additions of the year have been 2,166, of which 1,591 were by purchase, and 575 by donation, a larger number by purchase than in any preceding year; 1,528 pamphlets, only 71 of which were obtained by purchase; making the total book and pamphlet additions 3,694. Of the book additions, 109 were folios and 366 quartos—thus increasing the total number of folios now in the Library to 1,826, and the quartos to 2,550, and both together 4,376.

Though our total additions have been considerably less than last year, owing to a large purchase in 1871, of over 2,000 pamphlets, yet the book additions alone exceed those of last year by 955 volumes.

PROGRESSIVE LIBRARY INCREASE.

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,983	9,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,523	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,745
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2.....	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2.....	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
Total.....	25,671	28,553	54,224	....

BOOK ADDITIONS.

We have made an usually large addition to our department of periodical literature—English and American magazines and reviews: in some places securing complete sets, in others filling up gaps in imperfect sets: Blackwood, 1817–70, 109 vols.; United Service Journal, 1829–58, 88 vols.; North American Review, 1820–68, 88 vols.; Fraser's Magazine, 1830–65, 72 vols.; North British Review, 1844–69, 51 vols.; Notes and Queries, 1849–68, 46 vols.; Harper's Magazine, 1850–70, 42 vols.; British Naval Chronicle, complete, 1799–1818, 40 vols.; Classical Journal, complete, 1819–29, 40 vols.; Democratic Review, 1838–59, 39 vols.; The Athenæum, 1837–62, 26 vols.; Historical Register, the predecessor of the British Annual Register, 1714–38, 25 vols.; New Englander, 1843–66, 25 vols.; Cornhill Magazine, 1850–70, 22 vols.; Retrospective Review, 1820–54, 18 vols.; National Review, 1855–64, 13 vols.; Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, 1819–24, 10 vols.; Popular Science Review, 1862–71, 10 vols.; Southern Review, 1828–32, complete, 8 vols.; Southern Literary Messenger, 1849–51, 1861–64, 9 vols.; Anglo-American Magazine, 1852–55, 7 vols.; British Sporting Magazine, 7 vols.; American Monthly Magazine, 1833–38, 6 vols.; The Cincinnatus, 5 vols.; Putnam's Magazine, new series, 5 vols.; Chicago Western Monthly, 3 vols.; Atlantic Monthly, Continental Monthly, Military and Naval Magazine, and Edinburgh Mirror, 2 vols. each; Historic-Genealogical Register, United States Service Magazine, Southern Literary Journal, Register, and Magazine, Ladies' Magazine, The Hesperian, and the Chicago Magazine, one vol. each—total, 832 volumes.

Among other important additions, the following may be specified: English Historical Society Collections, a complete set, 1833–56, 25 vols.; London Society of Antiquaries, Proceedings, 1843–69, 7 vols.; Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1848–64, 17 vols.; Encyclopædia Britannica, latest edition, 22 vols., folio; Philological Society's Proceedings, 1842–69, with additional volumes on Anglo-Saxon and old English Philology, 21 vols.; Ulster Journal of Archaeology, 1853–62, 9 vols.; Manx Society Publications (Isle of Man) 1859–67, 13 vols.; Domesday Book, complete, 1783–1816, 4 vols., folio; Catalogues of MSS. in British Museum, 1782–1844, 7 vols., folio and quarto; British Almanac, 1828–65, 39 vols.; Alison's

History of Europe, from 1789 to 1852, 21 vols.; Lingard's History of England, 10 vols.; Knight's Illustrated History of England, 8 vols.; Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, 7 vols.; Topography and Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, 1843-69, 5 vols., quarto; Chambers' Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, 5 vols.; Woodward's History of Hampshire England, 3 vols., quarto; The Crisis, London, 1775, 1 vol.

Father M. Crespel's Travels, in 1720, in Wisconsin and the other portions of America, Lond. 1797; Hist. of the American War, 1775-83, Dublin, 3 vols; Timberlake's Memoirs, 1765; Alden's Collection of American Epitaphs, 5 vols; Benton's Congressional Debates, 16 vols; Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit, 8 vols; I. D. Rupp's scarce volumes on Geography, &c., of Western States, and Histories of Lancaster, Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Carbon, Berks and Lebanon Counties, Pennsylvania; four large quarto Scrap-Books on the War of the Rebellion; Buckingham Smith's Relations Cabeca De Vaca pertaining to the early Discoveries and Explorations of Florida, published by Joel Munsell, 1871; Hariot's Brief and True Report of Virginia, in fac-simile, from De Bry's edition of 1590, Sabin's reprint, 1872; Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania, 1680-1778, edited by Rev. Dr. W. S. Perry, 1871; S. G. Drake's Notes on Norton's Narratives of the Capture and Burning of Fort Massachusetts, 1744-49; Journal of Wm. Trent, in the Ohio valley, 1752, printed by Robert Clarke, for Wm. Dodge; Memoirs of Tarleton Brown, Narrative of Lieut. James Moody, Narrative of John Blatchford, narrative of Ebenezer Fletcher, Journal of R. J. Meigs on Quebec Expedition of 1775, Narrative of Levi Hanford, Journal of Solomon Nash, and Adventures of Christopher Hawkins, eight rare and interesting works on the Revolutionary War, privately printed, and edited by Charles I. Bushnell, who has rendered invaluable service to the historical literature of the country.

We have also received the sixth and concluding volume of Charlevoix's History of New France, embracing Wisconsin and other portions of the Northwest, as he saw them in 1720-22, translated and edited with great ability by John G. Shea, LL. D., to whom the whole country is largely indebted for this and other works illustrative of the early history and exploration of Canada, and the western and northwestern portions of the Union. His twenty volumes of Me-

moirs and Relations concerning the French Colonies in North America, his thirteen volumes on American Linguistics, embracing a series of grammars and dictionaries of American languages, his six quarto volumes of Charlevoix's valuable work, his Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, his Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, and his History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States—may be truthfully cited as a monument to the patience, industry, and ability with which he has written, translated, and edited this valuable series of works on the Red Men, and the early pioneer explorers of the Northern and Western wilderness.

To summarize, there have been added to the library 832 volumes of Magazines and Reviews; Congressional Documents, 212; European History, 178; Science, 129; Historical and learned Societies, 113; Philology, 99; American History, 133; Local History, 52; Biography, 75; Rebellion History, 65; War of the Revolution, 19; War of 1812, 8; Mexican War, 15; Indians and Indian Wars, 25; Bibliography, 37; Genealogy, 40; Cyclopedias, 27; Documents of various States, 87; Education, 24; Voyages and Travels, 18; Archæology and Antiquities, 14.

To the Newspaper department the additions have been larger than in any preceding year—404 volumes, making the total number of newspaper files 2,044. During the year we secured by purchase, at a very cheap price, a set in quarto size of the Holland Mercury, 1651 to 1790, and also from 1801 to 1815; Leyden Gazette, quarto, from 1765 to 1782, and the Paris Gazette 1796–97—making 210 volumes, all but the 2 volumes of the Paris Gazette, in the Holland language, forming a most fitting addition to the Tank portion of our Library—containing, doubtless, many quaint items of early Holland migrations to our country, and much curious and valuable matter pertaining to the pecuniary aid furnished our struggling country during the Revolutionary war, by patriotic bankers and capitalists of Holland.

Other newspaper additions are:

The Test and Contest, London, 1756–57, folio.....	1 vol.
The Crisis, London, 1775, folio.....	1 vol.
Detroit Gazette, 1819–28, folio.....	5 vol.
Cincinnati Literary Gazette, quarto.....	1 vol.
Notes and Queries, quarto.....	46 vol.

London Athenæum, quarto.....	26 vol.
Willis' Current Notes, quarto.....	2 vol.
Proof Sheet, quarto.....	4 vol.
Congressional Globe, quarto.....	5 vol.
Scientific American, quarto.....	1 vol.
Norton's Literary News Letter, quarto.....	1 vol.
Agricultural Papers, quarto.....	4 vol.
Publishers' Circular, 8vo.....	7 vol.
Wisconsin and other modern newspaper files.....	90 vol.

The file of the Detroit Gazette for nearly ten successive years, published at a period when it was the only newspaper representative of Michigan Territory, then embracing what is now Wisconsin within its limits, and containing a vast amount of early information and passing events of our own geographical region nowhere else to be found, render its acquisition one of peculiar importance and significance. It was preserved by the late Hon. John P. Sheldon, one of its early editors and publishers, who subsequently became a pioneer settler of Wisconsin—and whose career we hope hereafter to deservedly commemorate in our pages. We are indebted for this valuable gift to his children, Thos. H. Sheldon and sisters. So far as early Wisconsin history is concerned, our Society has never received a richer acquisition.

Of the 404 newspaper volumes received the past year, 51 were published in the seventeenth century, 146 in the eighteenth, and the remainder in the present century. Our total newspaper files are now distributed in the three centuries as follows: 54 in the seventeenth; 359 in the eighteenth, and 1,685 in the nineteenth. In this invaluable department of historical literature—and we cannot well over-estimate its present and ever-increasing value—few, if any, equals will be found in any collections in the country.

We now receive 131 periodicals preserved for binding, namely: three quarterlies, six monthlies, seven dailies, two semi-weeklies, one hundred and five weeklies, published in the State, and eight beyond the limits of Wisconsin. This is a considerably larger number than we have reported in any former year.

To the Map and Atlas department have been added an Atlas of Benton county, Iowa, 1872, from R. H. Marshall and Geo. E. Warner; a large mounted map of the city of Madison, 1872, from Taylor & Willets; 2 maps of the Northern Pacific railroad route and tributary region, from N. B. Van Slyke, and 8 early American

maps mostly of the Colonial and Revolutionary period, from L. C. Draper; making a total of maps and atlases, 546.

BOOK AND PAMPHLET DONORS.

Hon. Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior, 75 vols.; Hon. Oliver Warner, Sec. Commonwealth of Mass., 64 vols.; State of Wisconsin, 36 vols.; Lyman C. Draper, 26 vols. and 180 pamphlets; Jos. Sabin & Sons, 28 vols. and 66 pamphlets; Hon. M. H. Carpenter, 24 vols.; Hon. Alexander Mitchell, 23 vols. and 3 pamphlets; Buffalo Historical Society, 24 vols. and 22 pamphlets; Mrs. Chas. M. Baker, 13 vols.; Dr. Edward Jarvis, 8 vols. and 21 pamphlets; Charles I. Bushnell, 8 vols.; Hon. T. O. Howe, 4 vols. and 108 pamphlets; J. H. Tesch, 6 vols. and 10 pamphlets; Iowa Historical Society, 5 vols.; New Jersey Historical Society, 4 vols. and 2 pamphlets; Joel Munsell, 4 vols. and 31 pamphlets; Hon. G. W. Hazelton, 4 vols. and 5 pamphlets; Library of Congress, A. C. Smith, E. H. Mundy, and H. P. Magill, 4 vols. each; Robert Clarke, 3 vols. and 4 pamphlets; Hon. David Atwood, Gen. W. W. Belknap, Gen. F. A. Walker, Chas. S. Hoyt, J. H. Blackfan and Minnesota Historical Society, 3 vols. each; Rev. R. M. Hodges, Sarah Mahan, W. S. George, Admiral B. F. Sands, State of Nevada, American Bible Society, and Wis. Agricultural Society, 2 vols. each; Rev. Dr. W. Stevens Perry, 1 vol. and 27 pamphlets; Dr. M. F. Stephenson, 1 vol. and 2 pamphlets; Gen. Simeon Mills, 1 vol. and 27 pamphlets; Prof. W. F. Allen, 1 vol. and 27 pamphlets; Rev. Dr. A. Brunson, 1 vol. and 17 pamphlets; Rev. Dr. Geo. Hale, 1 vol. and 10 pamphlets; New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Rev. A. C. Pennock, Vermont Historical Society, and Yale College, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet each; and the following one vol. each: Armitage & Pratt, Hon. Ll. Breese, Pres't. P. A. Chadbourne, Am. Philosophical Society, Charleroi Paleontological and Archæological Society, Hon. Ezra Cornell, W. Cothren, Gen. J. W. De Peyster, George Derby, Perley Derby, Essex Institute, E. H. Fletcher, D. S. Gardner, Col. Bolling Gordon, Col. W. S. Hatch, C. J. Hoadly, Dr. F. A. Koss, W. J. Langson, A. Loubat, Mass. Historical Society, P. McCabe, Col. R. Monteith, J. B. Newcomb, New York Park Commissioners, New York State Library, Rev. R. M. Overstreet, Hon. J. G. Palfrey, Prof. T. J. Parvin, C. D. Plumb, Prof B. Pierce, Dr. S. J. Parker, Henry Stevens, Rev. Elliott Sanford, Tennessee State

Library, Ulm Society of Science, Virginia City, S. S. Wallahan, Hon. W. Whiting, Dr. E. T. Wilkins. Rev. I. Wilkinson, Wisconsin Editorial Association, Wis. Horticultural Society and W. Worthington.

Pamphlets.—Governor L. Fairchild, 300; Dr. S. A. Greene, 54; Rev. W. S. Alexander, 45; Baltimore Mercantile Library, 42; Leavitt, Strebeigh & Co., 36; Governor C. C. Washburn, 34; Hon. J. Shaw, 34; C. L. Woodward, 30; D. G. Francis, 30; D. S. Durrie, 29; Bangs, Merwin & Co., 23; John Wiley & Son, 17; Ohio State Library, 15; Samuel G. Drake, 15; W. C. Davie & Co., 14; Hon. P. Sawyer, 12; University of Wisconsin, 12; Ohio Historical Society, 10; Rev. J. P. Haire, 9; Rev. Dr. Lyman Whiting, 8; Hon. Stephen Salisbury, 7; Hon. John S. Dean, W. P. Garrison, and Wm. Dodge, 6 each; U. P. James and Dr. J. T. Reeves, 5 each; Col. S. V. Shipman, Gen. J. Hagood, C. M. Holden, A. Baron Holmes, G. Mead, Rev. J. A. Wallace, and Long Island Historical Society, 4 each; N. B. Van Slyke, F. E. Mather, G. E. Morrow, and J. C. Degress, 3 each; Hon. John B. Bowman, F. W. Case, J. Wingate Thornton, W. H. Canfield, J. L. Hays, Com. G. H. Preble, Leonard & Co., W. P. Lunt, and Carl Zillier, 2 each; and one each from the following: Albany Institute, Rev. Geo. H. Allen, S. M. Allen, E. P. Allis & Co., Prof. Chas. E. Anthon, B. Ashworth, L. W. Bacon, J. W. Bouton, Rev. C. D. Bradlee, C. D. F. Burns, Chicago Chamber of Commerce, Chicago Historical Society, Delaware Historical Society, Josiah Drake, Rev. S. A. Dwinnell, H. H. Edes, General M. F. Force, Rev. E. H. Goss, Harvard College, H. A. Homes, Hughes Brothers, W. A. Leary, Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, E. W. Nash, W. J. Park, D. W. Patterson, President Daniel Read, Rhode Island Historical Society, M. Thomas & Son, and Hon. S. T. Wallis.

PICTURE GALLERY ADDITIONS.

Portrait of Col. Hercules L. Dousman, painted by C. W. Heyd, of Milwaukee, in gilt frame, from his family; Hon. T. O. Howe, in gilt frame, painted by F. M. Pebbles, from Senator Howe; Col. Charles H. Larrabee, in gilt frame, painted by Sam'l M. Brookes, of San Francisco, from Col. Larrabee; Gen. Henry Haruden, Col. S. V. Shipman, and Gen. Jas. K. Proudfit, all painted by James R. Stuart, St. Louis, and in gilt frames, from those persons respec-

tively; late Hon. John P. Sheldon, cabinet size, from his family; late Roswell Brown, a Dane county pioneer, cabinet size, from James Bell, administrator; a fancy picture of a young girl, marked on the back "Wild Rose," in gilt frame, from the artist who painted it, Charles P. Dorward. The present number of oil paintings in the gallery is 86; and other portraits of our pioneer settlers, prominent public men, and war heroes, will, we trust, be early added to our collection.

ADDITIONS TO THE CABINET.

Autographs.—A check on the office of Discount and Deposit, Baltimore, August 26, 1794, countersigned by Gen. Geo. Washington, from H. L. Palmer; and autograph letters of Hon. H. W. Seward, Wilkie Collins, and Max Muller, from Isaac Markins, N. Y.

Coin.—A Japanese coin equivalent to a cent and a half, presented by C. A. Ruff; a small collection of foreign coin, from Leonard Lee; a silver coin, (fourpence,) of reign of Queen Anne, 1709, from Wm. Henry Russell; copper coin, Victor Emanuel, 1859, from G. H. James.

Curiosities.—A Sandwich Island axe, made of lava and used for making canoes before the advent of Capt. Cook, from Lyman H. Baldwin, a son of a Sandwich Island missionary; an Indian war club, elegantly carved, from one of the Pacific Ocean islands, deposited by L. H. Baldwin; an interesting collection of curiosities from Balbec, Jerusalem, the Pyramids, and different parts of Syria, from Leonard Lee; a pair of Chinese shoes made of grass matting, found in a chest of tea, by J. E. Anderson.

Natural History.—A curious Japan nut, resembling a bull's head, from Henry Ash; three fossils from Germany, from Antoine Engel; a piece of sycamore wood from a tree planted on the day of the battle of Bunker-Hill, June, 17, 1775, from Mrs. H. A. Henshaw; fossil coral, from Exeter, Green county, Wis., from J. Hayden; specimens of kaolin from Grand Rapids, Wis., from Mr. Eaton, and another specimen of kaolin from the southern part of Monroe county, Wis., from P. R. Dahl; a piece of petrified fence-post from the enclosure of the palace of Gov. Gayoso, one of the early Spanish governors of Louisiana, at Natchez, from Gen. J. K. Proudfit; a double-bodied pig, preserved in alcohol, from Edward Knight; two large stuffed pelicans, a stuffed loon, a gar fish, and a large

Rocky Mountain goat's horn, from S. D. Carpenter; fossil teeth from Ashley river, S. C., a fine collection, from Capt. W. A. Briard; a small trilobite, from Batavia, Ill., from Dr. W. H. Robbins. and specimens of emeralds, rubies, garnets, opals and topaz, from near Santa Fe, from F. W. Gray.

Newspapers.—A number of the Boston Gazette, Mar. 12, 1770, containing an account of the Boston massacre, neatly framed and glazed, from Chas. Seymour, President of Wisconsin Editorial Association; Middlesex Gazette, published at Middletown, Conn., April 18, 1789, and April 12, 1794, from Dr. F. B. Hough; 46 numbers of early Wisconsin papers, 1838 and 1839, very valuable, from Darwin Clark; 19 numbers of the Gospel Herald, published at the Mormon Colony of Voree, a little west of Burlington, Wis., 1847–49, valuable and interesting, from C. L. Woodward; the Camp Record, issued by the 1st Reg't Wis. Vols., at Camp Negley, Hagerstown, Md., June 27, 1861, being No. 1, Vol. 1, presented by Capt. O. B. Buttes; the Cherokee Advocate, Mar. 20, 1870 and April 29, 1871, in the Cherokee language, from S. D. Carpenter.

Paper Money etc.—A two dollar bill, Weyauwega bank, 1859, one dollar Waukesha County bank, 1859, and two dollar bill, Kenosha City bank, 1863, from Gov. Fairchild; \$1,000 Confederate bond, 8 per cent., from John McKinzie; a certificate of £5, issued by the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, June 1, 1775, from Hon. John T. Kingston; \$50 Confederate bill, procured at Montgomery, Ala., 1865, from Rob't Johnson, of 4th Wis. Cavalry; \$10 Confederate bill, and \$20 Confederate bill, of Sept. 2, 1861, and a \$5 Confederate bill, Dec. 2, 1862, from N. C. Strong; \$50 Continental bill, Sept. 26, 1778, \$45 do., Jan. 14, 1779, \$30 do., Sept. 26, 1778, \$6 do., Nov. 20, 1775, \$5 do., May 9, 1776, a \$3, and a \$1 do., Feb. 19, 1776, and a \$2 do., May 19, 1776, from Mrs. Stephen Taylor, Philadelphia.

Photographs, etc.—Large size photograph of Hon. B. W. Brisbois, with rosewood frame, lined with velvet, from Mr. Brisbois; a large photograph of the late Hon. C. M. Baker, framed, from his family; a photograph, on large card, of members of Congress who voted for the 14th Constitutional amendment, from Rev. A. C. Pennock; photograph of birth-place of Benj. West, Delaware county, Pa.; photograph of the old Swede's Church, Wilmington, Del., erected in 1698, and of the first meeting-house of Friends in Wil-

mington, from H. F. Morrow; group of photographs of reporters of Wisconsin Legislature, 1872, framed, from N. P. Jones; plan of Wisconsin State Capitol, as originally designed, by Mr. Kutzbock, framed, and engraving of Asylum for disabled Soldiers at Milwaukee, from Gov. Fairchild.

War Relics, &c.—Sabre found at Bull Run battle field, and a bowie knife or sword captured at same place, the person killing the rebel soldier in obtaining it, both from Louis Larson; a belt, formerly containing six rows of brass buttons, taken from the body of an Indian killed in battle by Thomas Munion, at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1863, from Truman A. Spooner; a short sword or bowie knife used by Capt. Clark's company at the battle of Peckatonica, in the Black Hawk war, manufactured by a blacksmith in the country, presented by Chas. T. Olmstead, a private in Clark's company, who used it on that occasion; also a tomahawk taken from an Indian killed in said battle by Mr. Olmstead, and presented by him; pieces of the coffin of Sir Isaac Brock, who fell at the battle of Queens-town Heights, Oct. 12, 1812, taken from the vault at the foundation of the old monument, from Dr. Wm. Horne; five bullets from the seige of Vicksburg, two of them from mortally wounded men, with blood stains; top of a rebel flagstaff from the battle of Ezra Church, near Atlanta, July 28, 1864; section of a sapling cut off by a bullet July 22, 1864, so near Gen. J. K. Proudfit's face that splinters from it struck him and drew blood—this near Atlanta, the fight in which Gen. McPherson was killed; a Hymn Book from the body of a Federal soldier killed at Bentonville, N. C., the last action in which Gen. Sherman's army took part, March, 1865—all from Gen. J. K. Proudfit; a Mexican lance, from the Liepan Indians, from Capt. Geo. E. Albee, through Gen. Aug. Gaylord.

.; *Miscellaneous.*—Iron keys, &c., fused, from the great Chicago fire, from Col. S. V. Shipman; charred remains of a \$50 Madison bond, from the Chicago fire, redeemed by the city of Madison, and presented by the Common Council; a paper of tacks, part of a bar of soap, and slate-pencils, from the Chicago fire, from Major H. A. Tenney; Quartermaster's and Inspector's returns at Mackinaw, 1814–20, from Mrs. Henry S. Baird; fac-simile of the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, from Henry F. Morrow; a seal of the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, from a certified copy, London, 1792, and a marriage certificate De Soto

county, Miss., 1843, from Gen. J. K. Proudfit; political handbill of the Paris Communists, May 25, 1871, torn from a building near the Hotel de Ville, while the ruins of the latter building were yet smoking, by Hon. E. B. Washburn, U. S. Minister, and sent by him to Governor Washburn, and presented by the latter to the Society; fac-simile letters of M. Jules Cloquet of his Recollections of the Private Life of General La Fayette—a different translation from the London edition, 1835, a copy of which is in the Society's Library. from Professor S. H. Carpenter.

Also 250 sheets of company records of Wisconsin Volunteers—very valuable, from Rev. A. C. Pennock; and three copies of bulletins and maps of wind and weather, from the chief signal officer, Gen. A. J. Myers.

In connection with the Cabinet and Museum, it is peculiarly due to Mr. Isaac Lyon, to state, that he has during the year materially enriched his collection of specimens of natural history and curiosities generally, now on deposit with the Society, and has generously continued his personal services in exhibiting them to our numerous visitors—evincing his own love for the curious and wonderful in the domain of nature, and rendering the Society a most valuable and acceptable service.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR EXCHANGES.

Thirty copies each of the Wisconsin Senate and Assembly Journals, 1872; General, Private and Local Laws, 1872; Governor's Message and Documents, 1871; 100 copies of Murrish's Geological Report on Wisconsin Lead region; 25 copies of Wisconsin State Horticultural Report, 1872; 18 copies of State Library catalogue, from the State; forty-nine copies Transactions State Agricultural Society, 1870, and 50 copies do., 1871, from the Society; 700 copies of Gen. David Atwood's Obituary Address on Hon. B. F. Hopkins, from Gen. Atwood; 45 copies of Sword and Gun, by R. C. Eden, 37th Wis. Infantry, from C. D. Plumb; 25 copies Proceedings Wisconsin Editorial Association, 1871, per Hon. James Ross, Secretary; 37 copies Report State Board of Charities of Wisconsin, per Hon. S. D. Hastings, Secretary; 25 copies of Report of Madison Board of Education, 1871, from Prof. B. M. Reynolds; six copies Report of Secretary of State, Wis., 1871, from Hon. L. Breese; 15 copies Dr. Chase's Address before the Old Settler's Club, Milwaukee, July

4, 1872, from Hon. A. G. Miller; 10 copies of Early Days in Racine, from H. H. Hurlbut; 9 copies of Report on Trade and Commerce of Milwaukee, 1871, from W. J. Langson, Secretary; 9 copies of Report on Trade and Commerce of Chicago, 1871, from the Chamber of Commerce; and 5 copies of Directory of Green Bay and Fort Howard, 1872, from Armitage & Pratt.

OUR PUBLICATIONS.

The sixth volume of the Society's Collections has been issued during the past year, and sent to Societies, Public Libraries, and individuals entitled to them as exchanges. We are thus steadily rescuing from forgetfulness and neglect, the worthy deeds and memories of our pioneer settlers.

Among others, we have the promise of historical papers for future use from Hon. H. S. Magoon and Hon. David S. Hawley, on early times and events in La Fayette county; Gen. J. J. Guppey, on the early history of Columbia county; Hon. Wm. M. Dennis, on the early history of Dodge county; Hon. W. P. Lyon, on the early Voree Mormon settlement on the borders of Racine and Walworth counties; Hon. H. D. Barron on Governor Randall and his contemporaries; Hon. M. H. Bovee on the life and services of Hon. I. P. Walker; Col. M. Frank, life and services of Hon. Chas. C. Sholes; Hon. M. L. Marvin on the early habits and customs of the French inhabitants of Wisconsin; Hon. J. T. Kingston, personal narrative on early times and events in Illinois and Wisconsin; Chandler P. Chapman, Esq., on the Black Hawk war. We trust that the friends of the Society in different parts of the State, whose localities have not been written up, will see that it is done while some of the primitive settlers yet remain to furnish the needful information.

CATALOGUING THE LIBRARY.

The work of cataloguing the Library, recording the titles, references and cross references, and perfecting them as much as possible preparatory to issuing our first Catalogue during the present year, has steadily progressed under the labors of the librarian and his assistant, Miss Durrie. This is always a work of unceasing drudgery, yet of the utmost importance. In some of our larger eastern libraries, from half-a-dozen to a dozen persons may be con-

stantly seen plodding at similar work. Before the close of the year our visitors may hope to have the benefit of our published Catalogue—which will prove a great convenience to them, and no small relief to the librarian and assistant in searching, as they now necessarily have to do, to ascertain whether we have specific works in the Library so constantly called for.

Such a Catalogue, when published, will exhibit at once the riches and the poverty of the Library. So far as American general and local history, American Genealogy, newspaper and periodical literature generally, and the more important works of reference, statistics, and the scientific publications of American learned societies, are concerned, we need not fear a comparison with the collections of similar institutions of our country; but we shall unquestionably present many deficiencies in the general literature and science of the Old World. The British Museum only can hope to secure all, or an approximation to it. When Guizot proposed to remain some time in London that he might consult the volumes in that institution upon a particular epoch in French history, the historian was appalled at the gathering on that period alone, approaching in size the side of a house. In that wonderful collection are 100,000 American publications in the several departments, including all the standard books of our nation, our laws, biographies, local histories, and the works of all our poets and novelists.

Though it is not possible for us to compete with such a library, having almost unlimited pecuniary means at its command, and purchasing-agents in almost every civilized country of the world, yet we may do a work in our day and generation of unspeakable good; and so far as our country is concerned, we may excel the British Museum in the extent and completeness of our collections.

It is recorded by a gentleman a few years since, engaged in historical and genealogical researches, that while he found in New England several public libraries with very complete collections of the local histories and genealogies, he found surprising deficiencies in the Libraries of New York and Brooklyn—finding in no single collection one-tenth of the works of this class which he had found in so many of the Libraries of New England; in one Library alone were any American Genealogies found, and even there but a dozen or two; and in local histories a rather better report was made—one Library having, out of several hundred hitherto published, one.

or two shelves nearly filled, while another prominent Library had but ten or twelve volumes, and a Brooklyn Library had but two or three.

To show the strength of our own Library in these particulars, we may mention that we have 360 volumes on Genealogy alone; local histories of towns and counties, 865, local histories of churches, 175—not including directories of city and town documents, which often contain much local history. Our Bibliographical department, so important to a public library, now numbers 230 volumes. That we have added in a single year to our Library 1,235 volumes of newspapers, magazines and reviews, extending through three eventful centuries, is in itself a sufficient evidence of the extent of these priceless collections. Let these data serve as examples of the strength of our Library in all its principal departments.

SHELVING EXTENSION.

The need of additional shelving capacity became so apparent, that Gov. Washburn, promptly and kindly ordered the erection of a gallery and shelving in our General Hall, which have given us much needed relief, and enabled us the better to arrange and classify all the departments of the Library. For the present we must needs be content with the amount of room allotted to our use, and leave the future to provide for the Society's increasing demands in coming years. Increased protection, however, is needed for our book cases, which we trust will not be much longer delayed; a comparatively trifling expense in this direction will add largely to the security of our invaluable collections.

ENDOWMENT FUNDS NEEDED.

Year after year we have earnestly plead for endowment funds—thus far to but little purpose. Two among Wisconsin's noblest pioneers, Hon. John Catlin, in 1867, and Hon. Cyrus Woodman, in 1869, each contributed a hundred dollars towards founding a Binding Fund, the interest only to be used for binding purposes—always one of the most pressing needs of a public Library. To this nucleus have been added membership fees, some small donations, occasional sales of duplicates, together with accruing interest, till the amount has reached the sum of \$829.81.

*3—His.

To subserve the purpose of such a fund, it should not be drawn upon till its principal will yield a sufficient income to provide for the binding of all our newspaper files, magazines, reviews, pamphlets and unbound books, including those that occasionally need re-binding—which, should we faithfully bind all of these classes that actually need it, in substantial half-binding, would require an annual income of well nigh a thousand dollars. In the present condition of our resources, we must necessarily limit our binding to the most immediate necessities, leaving a large mass of unbound matter to accumulate each additional year, for the future to provide for as best it may

Would that some of our wealthy and liberal-hearted men of Wisconsin, would contribute to this useful fund—five hundred dollars would constitute the donor a life director in the Society; twenty dollars a membership for life. Let us receive some generous responses from the friends of the Society.

HISTORICAL CELEBRATION.

It is proposed to commemorate the two-hundredth anniversary of the descent of the Wisconsin and the discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette, on Tuesday, the 17th of June next, at the confluence of the Wisconsin and the Great Father of Waters; an event which gave such unspeakable joy to those adventurous explorers and discoverers, and which has been followed by consequences so important, is well worthy of a suitable commemoration; and from no body of our people could it be more appropriately initiated than by our Historical Society. It is also proposed, in connection with the celebration of the discovery of the Mississippi, to devote the following day as a Pioneer Jubilee, for our early settlers to recount their primitive experiences in effecting the early settlement of the country.

When the proper arrangements are completed, we trust that our Historical celebration may receive the cordial approbation of our people, and prove one of the most successful commemorative events of the kind ever held in the Northwest.

Twentieth Report.

Submitted January 2, 1874.

On the 30th of January, 1849, twenty-five years ago, our Society organized by a thoughtful few of the prominent citizens of Wisconsin, impressed with the necessity of such an institution to collect, preserve, and perpetuate its prior history, and the annals of our young State, just then entering upon her career as an independent member of the Union. After four annual meetings, with scarcely any perceptible results, beyond the mere maintenance of a formal association, the Society was re-organized in January, 1854, and ever since our annual reports have exhibited its steady growth, until it now has everywhere accorded to it a place in the front rank of similar societies in the older sections of the country.

While we thus are annually permitted to point, with commendable pride, to our statistics of increase, we must necessarily leave unmeasured the real amount of practical utility our Society is accomplishing in the field of historical literature, the arts and sciences, and in the wide domain of intellectual culture generally. With our twenty-five thousand annual visitors, it may justly be remarked that the Society, with its rich stores of literature of the Old World and the New, is exerting a silent yet inestimable influence as a great public educator—a power and influence steadily augmenting with each successive year's additions to our historical, scientific and literary treasures.

FINANCIAL CONDITION—BINDING FUND.

It is shown by the Treasurer's Report that the receipts into the General Fund have been \$3,500, and the disbursements \$3,499.38, exhibiting a balance of 62 cents remaining in the Treasury. Of this expenditure, \$675.10 were for cataloguing the Library, freight

charges, and incidental expenses; while \$2,824.28 were expended for books, magazines, reviews, newspapers and binding.

The Binding Fund last year was reported at \$829.81. During the year, donations from Hon. Alexander Mitchell, \$500; Hon. R. H. Baker, Life Member, \$20; Rev. R. M. Hodges, \$20; Gen. John Lawler, \$10; W. F. Sanlers, \$2; Hon. E. Foster and J. B. Holbrook, \$1 each; the sale of duplicate books, the annual dues, and accrued interest, including premium on a Government Bond sold, have increased this Fund to \$1,803.59.

LIBRARY ADDITIONS.

There have been added to the Library during the year, 1,552 volumes, of which 1,145 were by purchase, and 407 by donation; and 1,178 pamphlets, of which 183 were by purchase—making the total book and pamphlet additions, 2,730. Of the book additions, 129 are folios, and 65 quartos—thus increasing the total number of folios now in the Library to 1,055, and the quartos to 2,017, and both together, 4,072.

Owing to the fact that some of our purchases the past year were of a rare and costly character, the total number of additions are slightly less than the preceding year; but their variety and excellence make their acquisition exceedingly desirable to a Library designed to meet the varied expectations and requirements of the progressive age in which we live.

PROGRESSIVE LIBRARY INCREASE.

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

DATE.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	800	1,805	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,983	9,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,523	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,745
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2.....	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2.....	2,161	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2.....	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
Total.....	27,523	29,731	57,254	.....

BOOK ADDITIONS.

The most important addition to our Library, in a literary point of view, we have ever made, has been secured the past year by importation from London—James O. Halliwell's edition of the Works of Shakespeare, in sixteen folio volumes, printed in magnificent style, illustrated with 158 superb plates, and many hundred wood engravings. The text is formed from a new collation of the early editions of the works of the great bard; to which are added all the original novels and tales on which the plays are founded; copious archaeological annotations on each play; an essay on the formation of the text; and a life of the poet. Mr. Halliwell is confessedly the most erudite and comprehensive editor and illustrator of Shakespeare who has ever appeared, and he has spared no pains in render-

ing the work one of the finest extant in the English or any other language. The general character of the work, whether as regards the immense mass of Shakespeariana brought together within the sixteen volumes, the extent and beauty of the illustrations, or the fine quality of paper and print, raise it in the estimation of lovers of the "Great Bard of Avon" beyond all praise, and secure for it a position in any library, beside the finest specimens of typography. The edition was strictly limited to one hundred and fifty copies, of which ours is the 138th; and the work has gone into the great public libraries of the world, and the libraries of the noblemen of Great Britain, and of a few gentlemen of wealth and taste in both hemispheres. It was published in 1853 to 1865, and is no longer to be found in the market. Our Society is fortunate, indeed, in having secured a copy of this unequaled and magnificent work.

As a companion to Halliwell's splendid edition of Shakspeare, we have secured a copy of the *fac simile* reprint of the famous first folio edition of 1623, by photo-lithography, published in London in 1866.

Among the additions to American history may be enumerated: Adair's History of American Indians, 4 to., 1775; Jones' Antiquities of the Southern Indians, 1873; New England's Jonas Cast Out, reprint, 4 to; Collection of Memoirs and Relations on the Ancient History of Canada, Quebec, 1840; a continuation of Dr. Shea's Cramoisy series of the Early Jesuit Relations of New France, by Dr. E. B. O'Callegan, 1611 to 1629, in 9 volumes, of which only 50 copies were published; Voyages of Discovery in Canada, from 1534 to 1542, by Jacques Cartier, Quebec, 1843; Memoir of Marquis de Vaudreuil, formerly Governor and Lieut-General of New France, 4 to, 1763; Memoir concerning DeRochemore, Commissary General of Marine, &c., under Governor Kerlerec, of Louisiana, 4to., 1765; Drayton's View of South Carolina, 1802; Kercheval's Hist. of Valley of Virginia, 2d edition, 1850; Early Hist. of West Penn.; Martin's Hist. of Louisiana, 2 vols., 1827; Williamson's Hist. of Maine, 2 vols.; Bozman's Hist. of Maryland, 2 vols.; Gordon's Hist. of New Jersey; Howe's Hist. Collections of New Jersey, etc.; Records of Proprietors of Naragansett, now Buxton, Maine, from 1733 to 1811, with introduction by Capt. W. F. Goodwin, privately printed by Hon. Cyrus Woodman; Zeigler's Sketches of a Traveler through North America and the West Indies, with

an account of the German element, &c., of Wisconsin, in German, Leipsic and Dresden, 1848; Ritchie's Wisconsin and its Resources, and of the Lake Superior Region, 1857; Journal of Legislative Council of Michigan, 1834, and Laws of Wisconsin, 1848, from M. M. Strong; Wild Flowers of Wisconsin, 1872, from P. M. Dorward; Rev. Dr. Perry's History of the Church of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, 4to., 2 vols., Mrs. Anne Royall's Travels in the United States, complete, 9 vols.; Harper's Pictorial History of the Rebellion, 4to., 2 vols.; The Rebellion Record, 8 vols.; Massachusetts State Register, 8 vols.; Grahame's History of the United States, 4 vols.; Dawson's Battles of the Revolution, 4to, 2 vols.; Prof. Greene's Life of Gen. N. Greene, 3 vols.; Lossing's Life of Washington, 3 vols.; Schroeder's Life and Times of Washington, 4to, 2 vols.; Ziegler's Sketches of English and German Officers in the American Revolution, (in German)—Dresden, 1784; Prof. Charles C. Rafn's Memoir on the Discovery of America in the Tenth Century—published in French by the Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 1843; Prof. Rafn's American Antiquities, concerning the Historic Monuments of Iceland and the ancient Scandinavians, in French, 4to, Copenhagen, 1845.

Prominent among the additions to English and European history and literature, are the following: Strangford's Collection of British Pamphlets, 68 volumes; Sismondi's History of France, in French 18 vols.; New Annual Register, 1780 to 1804, 25 vols.; History and Antiquities of Norfolk, England, 10 vols.; Bridgewater Treatises, 12 vols.; Granger's Biographical History of England, 9 vols.; Schlosser's History of the Eighteenth Century, and to the Overthrow of the French Empire in the Nineteenth, 8 vols.; Cunningham's Lives of Illustrious Englishmen, 8 vols.; Will's Lives of Eminent Irishmen, 3 vols.; Tymm's Family Topographer, 7 vols.; Lodge's Great Personages, 5 vols.; Anderson's Scottish Nation, Surnames, Families, etc., 3 vols., 4to; British Army Lists, 8 vols.; Scott's Napoleon, 3 vols.; Froissart's Chronicles of England, 2 vols., 4to; Old England's Worthies, 1 vol., 4to; Duncomb's History and Antiquities of Hereford, England, 4to, 2 vols.; Berry's County Genealogies and Pedigrees of Sussex, 4to; Gale's Antonini Itiner Britanniarum Commentarii, 4to, London, 1709; Sim's Index to Pedigrees in Herald's Visitations in British Museum.

To the department of science, some valuable additions have been

made: Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1831 to 1860, 40 vols.; Silliman's American Journal of Arts and Science, 1819-31, 31 vols.; Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester, England, 14 vols.; Geological Magazine, London, 1864-71, 8 vols.; Transactions of Royal Society, England, 4to, 7 vols.; Journal of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, 6 vols.; Journal and Proceedings of the Philadelphia Academy of Science, 5 vols.; U. S. Naval Observatory, Observations for 1869, 5 vols., 4 to.; American Association for the Advancement of Science, 3 vols.; Proceedings of the Royal Physical Society, 1858-67, 3 vols.; Godman's American Natural History, 3 vols.; Max Muller's Chips from a German Workshop, 3 vols.; Reports of Coast Survey, 3 vols., 4 to.; Geological Survey of Ohio, 4 vols.; Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, 2 vols., 4 to., a valuable work from Hon. G. W. Hazelton. Transactions of the American Institute, 1870-72, 2 vols.; and the following works, one volume each: Transactions of the Geological Society of Pennsylvania; Turnbull's Birds of East Pennsylvania and New Jersey; Geological Survey of Illinois, 4 to; Lea's Geology of New York, New Jersey and Alabama; Jackson's Geology of Maine; Geology of Maryland; Geological Survey of Wyoming; Geological Survey of Montana, &c.; Shufeldt's Explorations between the Atlantic and Pacific, 4 to; Archæologist and Journal of Antiquarian Science; Smithsonian Contributions, 4 to; Harlan's American Fauna, and Greeley's Essay on Science and Political Economy.

During the past year the following Historical Societies of our country have each issued and sent a volume: Massachusetts, a volume of proceedings; Pennsylvania, a volume of memoirs; Rhode Island, proceedings; Georgia and Minnesota, collections; the Western Reserve Historical Society, a volume of its series of Historical and Archaeological Tracts; the N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society, its Quarterly Register; and the Annals of Iowa Historical Society.

It will be remembered that in 1868 the British Government generously granted to our Society a complete set of its patent reports and specifications, from 1617 to the present time—a period of two and a half centuries. The accumulations of the past two or three years have recently been bound and placed on our shelves, making an addition of 336 volumes—increasing the whole collection to 2,990 volumes. They are much more consulted than had been anticipated,

and furnish, in connection with those of our Government, an almost inexhaustible source of information to those engaged in improving the labor-saving machinery and implements so peculiar to this age, and stimulating the inventive genius of our people.

To our Review and Magazine Department the following have been added: Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature, 45 vols.; Mirror of Literature, &c., 29; De Bow's Review, 25; Silliman's Journal, 31; North American Review, 19; Southern Literary Messenger, 17; Port Folio, 17; Masonic Review, 15; Fortnightly Review, 14; Penny Magazine, 14; N. Y. Review, 9; British Annual Register, 8; Southern Quarterly Review, 8; New England Magazine, 8; Mining Magazine and Gazette, 9; The Patrician, 6; Analectic Magazine, 4; Philadelphia Album, 4; Western Monthly Magazine, 3; Lady's Magazine, 3; Western Literary Messenger, 3; Harper's Magazine, 3; Literary Magazine and American Register, 3; Panoplist, 3; American Biblioplist, 3; Historical Magazine, 2; Atlantic Magazine, 2; The Opal, 2; Illinois Monthly Magazine, American Historical Record, N. Y. Biographical Record, Independent Whig, and Westminster Magazine, 1 volume each—total, 314 volumes.

Our Newspaper Department has received varied and valuable additions:

	Vols.
Present State of Europe, or Political Mercury, London, 1692-1702, quarto....	10
The World, London, 1753-56.....	4
Boston Liberator, 1833.....	1
Philadelphia National Inquirer, &c., 1837-38.....	1
Boston Non-Resistant, 1839-40.....	1
Cincinnati Times, 1840-41.....	2
London Illustrated News, 1842-71.....	59
Anglo-American, 1843-44.....	3
Albany Argus, 1844-45.....	2
New York Observer, 1845-50, 1855-56.....	5
Oswego Palladium, 1847-49.....	1
Contributor and Free Missionary, 1847-49.....	1
Westchester Gazette, New York, 1850-52.....	2
Church and State Review, London, 1862-63.....	1
Madison Daily Capitol, 1866.....	2
Daily Wisconsin, 1866-67.....	3
Madison Daily Union, 1867.....	1
Home Diary, Madison, 1867-73.....	1

Making the additions to this department 100 volumes, of which 7 were of the 17th century, 7 of the 18th, and 86 of the present

century. Our present numbers are newspaper files of the 17th century, 61 vols.; of the 18th century, 312; of the present century, 1,771—total 2,144.

To summarize, there have been added on Shakespearean literature, 18 vols.; Reviews and Magazines, 314; newspaper files, 100; English and European history and travels, 365; American history, 121; American biography, 35; American politics, 32; American Indians, 17; French and Indian war, 2; American Revolution, 14; War of 1812, 1; Mexican War, 3; Rebellion, 49; American Geography and Travels, 50; State Documents of the several states, 131; Congressional Documents, 25; Science, 152; Historical and Learned Societies, 44; Genealogy and Heraldry, 41; Canada and British Provinces, 20; Bibliography, 15; Archaeology and Antiquities, 9; Mormonism, 9; Directories, 21; British Patent Reports, 336; American Patent Reports, 8; Secret Societies, 7; Bible and American Bible Society, 7; Junius Publications, 4; Philology, 2; Poetry, 1.

We are now in receipt of 148 periodicals preserved for binding—an increase of 17 over last year; 8 of which are quarterlies, 16 monthlies, 1 semi-monthly, 113 weeklies, 2 semi-weeklies, and 8 dailies, all of which, except 30, are published in Wisconsin.

To the Map and Atlas department have been added: Asher & Adams' New Commercial and Statistical Atlas and Gazetteer of the United States, 2 vols., 4 to., 1872; a volume of maps of land titles in Hudson county, N. J., from C. H. Winfield; Hutchins' map of the western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina, Lond. in cover—very valuable; map of Geological Survey of Ohio, 1873, from Prof. J. S. Newberry; U. S. Survey for ship canal around Niagara Falls, made in 1835, 7 maps from Dr. Ossian Clark; map of groups of Geological Sections of Ohio, 1870, from Isaac T. Smith; Map of surveyed portion of Wisconsin Territory, Cincinnati, 1835; Map of Mineral Lands on Lake Superior, ceded to U. S. by treaty of 1842; Map of head of Green Bay and Fox river, Washington, 1853; Harrison and Warner's Atlas of Dane County, Wis., 4to, 1873, from publishers; Sectional map of Wisconsin, on rollers, 1873, from Harrison & Warner; Sectional map of Burlington & Missouri River Railroad, from T. H. Leavitt; making the present number of maps and atlases 565.

BOOK AND PAMPHLET DONORS.

British Patent Office, 336 vols.; Virginia Historical Society, 52 vols. and 9 pamphlets; Hon. Ll. Breese 23 vols. and 4 pamphlets; James W. Tucker, 15 vols.; State of New York, 14 vols.; State of Wisconsin, 37 vols.; Hon. G. W. Hazelton, 10 vols.; Hon. Alex. Mitchell, 7 vols.; Hon. E. P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 7 vols.; Patent Office, 8 vols.; State of Vermont, 8 vols.; Hon. John B. Linn, 7 vols.; Hon. C. C. Washburn, 6 vols. of bound Wisconsin newspaper files, and 159 pamphlets; Dr. Edward Jarvis, 4 vols. and 30 pamphlets; H. H. Hurlbut, 8 vols. of bound newspaper files; Rev. W. S. Perry, D. D., 7 vols. and 7 pamphlets; Naval Observatory, 5 vols.; State of Ohio, 5 vols.; Hon. J. G. Knapp, 4 vols.; Joseph Sabin & Sons, 5 vols. and 1 pamphlet; Prof. T. S. Parvin, 4 vols.; Col. S. V. Shipman, 3 vols. and 1 pamphlet; Hon. James Shaw, 3 vols. and 9 pamphlets; Mrs. E. M. Williamson, 3 vols.; Rev. S. Reynolds, 3 vols. and 5 pamphlets; American Bible Society, 4 vols.; Hon. J. Allen Barber, 4 vols.; W. P. Garrison, 2 vols. and 146 pamphlets; S. G. Drake, 2 vols. and 4 pamphlets; Rev. S. A. Dwinnell, 2 vols.; Coast Survey office, 2 vols.; Robert Clarke, 3 vols.; Gen. J. Eaton, Jr., 2 vols.; Hon. S. D. Hastings, 2 vols. bound newspaper files, and 1 pamphlet; Rev. J. P. Lane, 2 vols.; H. K. Oliver, 2 vols.; Hon. Moses M. Strong, 2 vols.; C. H. Winfield, 2 vols.; Dr. S. A. Green, 1 vol. and 51 pamphlets; Georgia Historical Society, 2 vols. and one pamphlet; Hon. T. O. Howe, 1 vol. and 32 pamphlets; Hon. C. A. Eldredge, 1 vol. and 9 pamphlets; Geo. R. Howell, 1 vol. and 9 pamphlets; University of Norway, 1 vol. and 15 pamphlets; D. Y. Kilgore, 1 vol. and 2 pamphlets; Minnesota Historical Society, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; Geo. E. Morrow, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; Hon. T. H. Wynne, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; Isaac T. Smith, 1 vol. and 1 map; and one volume each from the following: Smithsonian Institution, United States Government, State of Connecticut, Albany Institute, Library of Congress, State of Massachusetts, Massachusetts State Board of Education, Massachusetts Historical Society, Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Pennsylvania Historical Society, State of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island Historical Society, United Brethren Conference of Wisconsin, Hon. Chas. F. Adams, Hon. Levi Alden,

Prof. R. B. Anderson, A. Andrews, Dr. J. C. Dalton, J. M. Dorward, C. C. Dow, Dean Dudley, Hon. C. N. Holden, John Johnston, Hon. E. McPherson, G. and C. Merriam, M. C. Moak, Hon. J. G. Palfrey, J. B. Rollins, J. H. Studer, Dr. J. S. Scott, Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Hon. F. A. Walker, Wm. Welch, J. M. Wing & Co., Wisconsin Editorial Association, and Prof. A. H. Worthen.

Pamphlets.—Purchased, 124; made from newspapers and magazines, 75; Lyman C. Draper, 74; S. G. Gould, 71; Rev. J. Wilkinson, 19; Hon. P. Sawyer, 13; Prof. W. F. Allen, 13; Joel Munsell, 13; D. A. K. Andrus, 7; Hon. S. Salisbury, 7; Boston Public Library, 4; J. D. Caldwell, 4; Rev. J. W. Read, 4; A. C. Smith, 4; W. Hudson Stevens, 4; Rev. Chas. R. Hale, 3; Rev. Geo. Howe, D. D., 3; S. N. Martin, 3; 2 each from the following: Cincinnati Public Library, Hon. P. A. Chadbourne. Rev. J. P. Haire, W. A. Henderson, Hon. J. H. Trumbull, Col. Charles Whittlesey, R. W. Woodbury, and Vermont Historical Society; and one each from the following: Gov. W. F. Army, E. M. Barton, W. H. Canfield, Hon. M. H. Carpenter, Prest. A. L. Chapin, New York Catholic Union, Chicago Public Library, Hon. R. T. W. Duke, Hon. J. S. Foster, Dr. L. J. Frazee, W. S. Harris, J. L. Hayes, Hon. C. N. Holden, Leavitt & Co., T. H. Leavitt, Rev. Geo. Leonard, Licking County Agricultural Society, Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Dr. J. B. Lindsley, Massachusetts State Library, J. M. Miller, Rev. Dr. W. G. Miller, Minnesota Academy of Natural Science, New Hampshire Historical Society, New York Mercantile Library, Dr. C. C. Parry, Rev. J. R. Page, Penn. Hist. Society, Gen. Fitz John Porter, Geo. H. Pratt, Miss E. S. Quincy, Dr. J. T. Reeve, R. A. Springs, Leon. Steele, O. M. Temple, J. Wingate Thornton, Vermont State Library, and Yale College.

PICTURE GALLERY ADDITIONS.

Portrait of Hon. Cyrus Woodman, a pioneer of Wisconsin and a devoted friend of the Society, painted by L. Ansel Clough, elegant gilt frame, from Mr. Woodman; Hon. E. N. Foster, of Fond du Lac, a pioneer of Wisconsin, painted by Mark Harrison, fine gilt frame, from Mr. Foster, Hon. John Black, of Milwaukee, painted by Alex. Stuart, heavy gilt frame, from Mr. Black; Gen. Chas. S. Hamilton, distinguished in the late civil war, painted by G. Rauch, gilt frame, from Gen. Hamilton; Rev. Alfred Brunson, D. D., born

at Danbury, Conn., Feb. 9, 1793, served under Gen. Harrison at the battle of the Thames, came to Wisconsin in 1835, painted by J. F. Willoughby, rosewood gilt frame, from Dr. Brunson; Wallace Mygatt, an early pioneer of Kenosha, painted about 1854, by Sam. M. Brookes, from Mr. Mygatt. These bring the total number of oil paintings now in the gallery to 91.

An elegant and striking plaster bust of Hon. C. C. Washburn, executed by Wisconsin's promising sculptor, E. P. Knowles—from Gov. Washburn.

ADDITIONS TO THE CABINET.

Antiquities.—Flint arrow head from a mound in Juneau county, Wis., from Wm. Knapp; copper spear head about six inches long, plowed up on land of H. A. Beckwith, Berlin, Wis., from G. W. Beckwith; read flint arrow-head, found in Christiana, Wis., from E. S. Atleson; a small stone instrument, probably used by Indians in skinning animals, found in 1844 at Saginaw Bay, Lake Huron, from Wm. Potter; a flat stone instrument used by Indians for dressing skins, from W. A. Holloway; a piece of calico about 100 years old, from Mrs. H. M. Lewis.

Coin and Currency.—U. S. half cent, 1804, and a George III half penny, no date, from James Alexander, Va.; \$5 Lewis county, N. Y. Bank bill, from Dr. E. B. Rice; \$5 Confederate bill, Dec. 2, 1862, from Chas. Stiesmeyer.

Natural History.—Specimens of gold from Volcano Bar, American River, 1850, from J. W. Ostrander; Silver Ore, from Hale & Norcross' Mine, Comstock Lode, Virginia City, Nevada, taken 1,030 feet below the surface, from James E. Moseley; iron, sulphur and magnesia, from the "Geyser" west of the Sacramento, Cal., from J. E. Moseley; specimen of steel in process of manufacture, and hard and soft pig iron, from North Branch Rolling Mills, Chicago, zinc ore from Mineral Point, iron ore, 4 per cent. and do 80 per cent., moss agate from Fort Benton, and pewter from Boston fire, from J. C. Rowan, fossil orthoceratite, 12 pieces, from J. D. Sanford; two specimens of crystalized quartz, from Sylvester, Green Co., Wis., from A. Voorhees; two beautiful specimens of white branch coral, from the Dry Tortugas, Florida, from Mrs. J. M. Ingalls.

Old MS. Letter.—Of Rev. Eliab Byram, of Mendham, Morris,

Co., N. J., great grandfather of Mrs. J. W. Sterling and Hon. E. B. Dean, dated March 31, 1750, from Mrs. Sterling.

Old MS. Sermon.—MS. Sermon of Rev. Thos. Prentiss, Medfield, Mass., Nov. 27, 1788, from Prof. W. F. Allen.

Old Newspapers.—Boston Gazette, 31 numbers, from 1724–1736, purchased; Connecticut Gazette, Oct. 1757, from W. F. Ellsworth.

Photographs.—Photograph of the late J. C. Cover, of Grant county, from John Cover; of Moses Hardwick, who came to Green Bay, Aug. 29, 1816, born in Richmond, Ky., Aug. 3, 1791, from Hon. M. L. Martin; a group of members of Wisconsin Senate and State Officers, 1873, framed and glazed, also of the Assembly, 1873, from J. M. Fowler; photograph of E. M. Williamson, a Madison pioneer, rosewood frame, from Mrs Williamson.

Postal Cards.—A collection of 16 postal cards of European Nations, from D. A. K. Andrus.

Miscellaneous.—Model of a steamboat, made by James W. Nye, of Madison, a lad of about 15 years, presented by himself; a beautiful specimen of penmanship, entitled "A Remembrancer of the Early History of Racine, with fac-simile signatures of the early settlers, &c., by Sidney S. Hurlbut, a lad in his 14th year, framed and glazed, from himself; crockery relics from great Chicago fire, from A. G. Marden; cap of the celebrated Apache chief Cochise, captured by a sergeant of the 21st U. S. Inf., in Arizona, from J. H. Purcell, late Lieutenant in the 21st infantry; a small wooden box about ten inches long, made by Henry Wakelee, a soldier of the revolution, with his pocket-knife, from a block of wood, marked with his name, at Newburgh headquarters, June 1, 1783, from Mrs. Florilla S. Warren, Belleville, Wis.; an old spy-glass, large size, used for a long time at the old fort at Prairie du Chien, with which Alexis Bailey first discovered the approach of the steamer Virginia, in 1821, the first steamer that passed above that place, formerly property of Michael Brisbois, from Anthony Boisvert; a gas burner designed to illustrate Prof. Gardner's system of electro-magnetic gas-light apparatus, from Prof. S. Gardner.

UNBOUND SERIALS.

Harper's Magazine, June—November, 1872, from C. P. Chapman; Spiritual Philosopher, 1850, from Hon. S. D. Hastings; Official Statistien of Norway, 1856–62, 15 parts, 4to., from University of Nor-

way; Our Paper, Nos. 1—9, published by Congregational Society, Madison, from Rev. C. H. Richards; Massachusetts Magazine, 1789, purchased; 440 numbers of insurance periodicals, imperfect, Hon. Ll. Breese; N. Y. Methodist, 1868–69, Chicago Advance, 1868–69, and Northwestern Advance, 1870, from Rev. S. Reynolds; Cincinnati Gazette, 1844–47, from L. C. Draper; Miners' Free Press, 10 numbers, 1838–39, from W. T. Henry; Hampshire Telegraph, England, 1815, from C. F. LeFevre; and the following from O. S. Willey: N. Y. Independent, 1873; Prairie Farmer, May—December, 1873; Moore's Rural New Yorker, 1871 and 1873; Womans' Journal, March—December, 1873; and Minnesota Farmers' Union, 1873; from Prof. J. W. Sterling, 43 numbers Wisconsin Journal of Education.

The Society is under many obligations to Mr. Isaac Lyon for his continued devotion to the interests of the Cabinet; and the public recognize his kind attentions to them in their visits to this interesting department of our collections.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR EXCHANGES

Thirty copies each of Governors' Message of 1873, and Documents of 1872, Senate and Assembly Journals and Laws of Wisconsin, from the State; 12 copies of State Library Catalogue, from Prof. O. M. Conover; 100 copies of Prof. Butler's pamphlet on Nebraska, from T. H. Leavitt; 50 copies of Wisconsin State Board of Charities, from Hon. S. D. Hastings, Secretary; 50 copies of Transactions of Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, 1872–73, from the State; 27 copies of Hon. E. G. Ryan's Address before the law class of Wisconsin University, June, 1873, from the law class; 25 copies of the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Editorial Association, 1872, from Association per Hon. James Ross, Secretary; 24 copies of Newton's Report to Gov. Washburn on the Special Survey of Superior Harbor, 1872, from Gov. Washburn; 24 copies Transactions of Wisconsin Horticultural Society, 1873, from the State; 20 copies of Hon. A. G. Miller's Address before the Milwaukee Old Settlers' Club, from J. M. Miller, Secretary; 19 copies of Wisconsin Legislative Manual, 1873, from the State; 17 copies of Madison Board of Education, for 1872, from Prof. W. H. Chase; 15 copies Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction of Wisconsin, 1872, from Hon. S. Fallows; 15 copies of Wisconsin Horticultural Transactions, 1871, from the

Society: 12 copies of *Early Days at Racine*, from H. H. Hurlbut, 10 copies of *Dr. Miller on Milwaukee Methodism*, from Rev. Dr. W. G. Miller; 5 copies of Hon. E. C. Dyer's *Racine Historical Address*, from J. A. Carswell; 5 copies of *Beloit College Quarter-Centennial* from President A. L. Chapin, D. D.; 29 copies *Wisconsin Dairyman's Association, 1871-72-73*, and 8 copies *Fruit-Grower's Association*, from Wisconsin Horticultural Association, per O. S. Wiley.

OUR CATALOGUE.

By the enlightened liberality and wise foresight of our Legislature, we have been enabled, for the first time, to publish a Catalogue of our Library. It supplies a long desired need, and enables any one to test the strength of our collection upon any given subject. It is received, on all hands, with much commendation, and is already attracting the attention of lovers of literature throughout our country, and prompting them to supply many of our deficiencies from their duplicates. No public library, of the size of ours, can be at all complete without a good Catalogue, and this long desired desideratum will prove of great convenience and utility to both the library and consultors, in numerous ways. Much credit is due the librarian and assistant librarian for its preparation.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS.

During the year we have received the following historical papers, filed for future publication:

On the Joliet-Marquette Discovery of the Mississippi, by John G. Shea, LL. D., read before the Society on the 200th anniversary of that event, June 17, 1873.

Recollections of Wisconsin, by John T. LaRonde, who first located at Portage City in 1828.

Narrative of the Battle of Peckatonica, Wisconsin, in June, 1832, by the late Lieut. Matthew G. Fitch, who died at Mineral Point in April, 1844.

Journal of the Legislative Council of that part of Michigan Territory west of Lake Michigan, held at Green Bay, in January, 1836.

Journal of Capt. Samuel F. Phoenix, one of the first settlers and proprietors of Delavan, Wis., kept in 1836, from Mrs. Phoenix.

Sketches and Recollections of Early Times in Wisconsin, by Hon. George Hyer, from D. W. Fernandez.

Pioneer Life in Wisconsin, by Hon. Henry Merrill.

Wisconsin Reminiscences, by Josiah A. Noonan.

Recollections of the settlement of Milwaukee, by James S. Buck.

Personal Vindication, by Edward Beouchard.

Note on Eleazer Williams, by Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, Detroit.

AN ENDOWMENT THE GREAT NEED OF THE SOCIETY.

When we see a man who is steadily adding, year after year to his broad acres, and at the same time is blind or indifferent to the fact that his buildings, fences, and implements are going rapidly to decay, we very naturally attribute some defect to that man's judgment, and very properly question the policy of such a course of procedure. A somewhat similar feeling has been the out-growth of a few past years of our Society's progress. We have necessarily, within our limited pecuniary resources, purchased only such works as were most pressingly demanded by the wants of the public, or such as were but rarely found on sale, leaving us but a small pittance for annually binding purposes.

We have aimed to keep our newspaper files, so constantly referred to, and the more important magazines and reviews and a few pamphlets, regularly bound as they have accumulated; but the large mass of our nearly thirty thousand pamphlets, and many unbound books and documents, and many old works in bad condition, when obtained, most urgently call for binding or rebinding.

The necessity for a special Binding Fund, the interest only to be used for this purpose, has pressed itself upon the attention of a few devoted friends of the Society; and, in 1867, Hon. John Catlin and Hon. Cyrus Woodman in the following year, each contributed a hundred dollars as a nucleus for this much needed Fund. By accumulated interest, membership fees, small donations, and an occasional sale of duplicate books, this Fund had a year ago reached \$829.81. By accretions from ordinary sources, and a generous contribution of \$500.00 by Hon. Alexander Mitchell, the Binding Fund has now increased to \$1,803.59. It ought to reach at least \$10,000 to meet the necessary requirements of such a Fund.

Hon. John Catlin, one of Wisconsin's early and meritorious pio-

neers, who has ever manifested great interest in the Society, thus writes:

"I notice the slow progress made in the Binding Fund, and though the times are not favorable, yet I trust as the State grows older and increases in wealth, this Fund will receive such accessions as to meet the wants of the Society. The State of Wisconsin is yet young, and although its progress is almost unprecedented in the history of States in population and improvement, yet it has not had time to acquire great wealth. So you must not be discouraged in not receiving funds faster with which to endow the Society.

"I have long had a purpose to make some gift to the Society, but do not know that it will be carried out only to a limited extent. I have some wild land I purchased several years ago in Texas, which, some time not very far distant, will be valuable, and I have set apart one section, the proceeds to be added to the Binding Fund of the Society. It is not saleable at the present time at more than one dollar in gold per acre—at which 5,000 acres, near my land, and in the same county, were sold last Spring. It is covered with mesquite grass, which keeps cattle and horses fat all winter, and makes the section one of the most desirable for grazing purposes. When the Southern Pacific Railroad shall reach the western limits of Texas, this land will be valuable; and without it will be valuable when the Indians are prevented from their annual raids. I will pay the taxes on the land a little longer, and convey it when it reaches a value likely to be appreciated by the Society. The State of Texas is now making rapid progress in building railroads, and in population; and, I doubt not, its lands will grow in value as the lands of the Northwest have, but perhaps not to the same extent.

"I wish you, and those associated with you in such a meritorious work, much prosperity as the reward of your labors."

Hon. John F. Potter, of Walworth, another of our worthy pioneers, writes:

"I am sure that any man, woman, and child, who feels a pride in the good name of our State, feels grateful to you for all you have done to build up this best of our public institutions, and posterity will bless you for it.

"I wish I had wealth, so I could make a handsome donation to the Binding Fund; and, poor as I am, I will be glad to be one of ten to give \$50 each, and make up \$500 for the benefit of that Fund;

and I will do it this year, and next year too. It seems to me that, in this way, the Fund might be increased without any great hardship to any one. You can readily find, it seems to me, ten men, or twenty, or even fifty, who will come into an arrangement of this kind—to pay fifty dollars this year, and fifty for the next. There are ten fellows in Congress, and each one ought to thank God that he has a chance to ‘salt down’ a small share of his salary in this way, and be able to feel that it is doing good to the whole State. I believe, if the suggestion is submitted to them, that they will all respond. Tell me what you think of the proposition. I am ready to ‘fork over’ as soon as the *club* is full.”

Recounting to Gov. Washburn Mr. Mitchell's donation, the liberality of Mr. Catlin's intended gift, and Judge Potter's noble proposition, he promptly said: “Put me down for one hundred dollars a year till I direct otherwise.” Such acts of beneficence cannot otherwise than provoke honorable, unselfish emulation.”

We have intimations from other friends that their substantial aid will not be wanting. Let us not hope in vain. The Library is performing a great and important work—aid students in the State University, and others, in their preparatory course for future usefulness—assisting State officers, judges of our courts, professors of colleges, members of the legislature, writers and inventors, in their respective fields of investigation; while the Society's collections and publications serve to make our history, and the progress of our State, more complete, and better known, than most of the older States of the Union—and tend, in no small degree, to attract to our borders, from other sections of the country, men of thrift, intelligence and enterprise.

Such an institution demands your fostering care and encouragement. “Salt down,” as Judge Potter expresses it, some of your spare means for this meritorious object, and it will return to bless you a thousand fold in the perpetual good you will see it accomplish.

What we do to foster our public libraries, we do not for ourselves alone, but for our children and future generations. We select the company we would have them cultivate—the noblest, the wisest, and the best of every age of the world. No tawdry tinsel, no adventitious influences of birth, position, or fortune are requisite to procure an introduction to, or an association with these tran-

scendant productions of genius, of virtue, and of wisdom—worth more than rubies or wealth untold. In such associations we behold the “immortal sons deifying their sires.”

Libraries supplement the school, the academy, the college, and the university. They inculcate and foster habits of study, incite thought, expand the intellect, and suggest invention. They are the friends of the poor who are hungering and thirsting after knowledge; and the friends, too, of the more unfortunate, furnishing them an unfailing source of happiness that no amount of mere wealth could otherwise supply.

Wherever science is revered, wherever learning is respected, and wherever genius is honored, libraries will be regarded among the institutions best calculated to bless and elevate mankind. He who plants but a single tree for posterity performs a good work; but he who aids in founding public libraries, to continue, like the dews of heaven, to distil their blessings alike upon the rich and the poor, the old and the young, for all coming time, should be justly esteemed as among the noblest benefactors of the human race.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to Hon. Alexander Mitchell for his donation of \$500 to the Society's Binding Fund; and that in accordance with the constitution he is declared elected a Life Director of the Society.

Twenty-First Report.

Submitted January 2, 1875.

In rendering our twenty-first annual report, we may justly point to the statistics of the past year's increase of the Library, Gallery, and Cabinet, as exhibiting a steady and healthy progress—quite as much as the average of former years.

FINANCIAL CONDITION—BINDING FUND.

The Treasurer's report exhibits the receipts into the General Fund to have been \$3,500.62, and the expenditures \$3,464.88, leaving a balance of \$35.74 in the treasury. For cataloguing the Library, freight charges and incidental expenses, have been paid \$625.54, while \$2,839.34 have been expended in books, magazines, reviews, newspapers and binding.

The Binding Fund was last year reported at \$1,803.59. During the year, donations for this fund have been received from Samuel Marshall, Hon. George W. Allen, and Charles Fairchild, \$100 each; Hon. John F. Potter, Hon. Stephen Taylor, Hon. Philetus Sawyer, Hon. James T. Lewis, Col. Richard Dunbar, and Terrill Thomas, Esq., \$50 each; Rev. R. M. Hodges, D. D., Hon. Gerrit Smith, and Hon. Wm. Plocker, \$20 each; Hon. Philo White, \$7.50; Mrs. M. L. Thomas, \$5; Hon. Geo. Gary, \$2; accrued interest, \$172.13; annual dues from members, 49.40; duplicate books sold, \$24.99, thus showing an addition of \$921.02, making the total present amount of this fund, \$2,724.61

LIBRARY ADDITIONS.

The Library additions number 1,945 volumes, of which 1,300 were by purchase, and 645 by donation and exchange; and 1,186 pamphlets, of which 24 were by purchase—making the total book and

pamphlet additions 3,131. Of the book additions, 94 are folios and 88 quartos—increasing the total number of folios in the Library to 2,049, and the quartos to 2,705, and both together, 4,754.

PROGRESSIVE LIBRARY INCREASE.

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table:

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.. ..	1,065	2,000	3,065	5,115
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,983	9,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,523	12,535
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,745
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2.....	1,210	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2.....	2,161	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2.....	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, Jan. 2.....	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
Total.....	29,468	30,917	60,385	.....

PRINCIPAL BOOK ADDITIONS.

We may specify, among the principal additions of the year, the following: Historical Records of the British Army, 76 vols.; British Army Lists. 66 vols. and 17 previously, making 83 vols. extending from 1758 to 1856—these two works proving of great aid to historical students in tracing the services of British officers in this country during the old French war, of the Revolutionary contest and the war of 1812; British Patent Office Reports and Specifications, 136 vols.; American Patent Office Reports and Specifications

16 vols.,—all the more valuable, as only 150 copies are issued, and ours is the only set in Wisconsin; Mackintosh's History of England, 10 vols.; Mahon's Hist. England, 7 vols.; Smollett's Hist. England, 6 vols.; Ellis' Letters on English History, 11 vols.; Marchmont Papers, 3 vols.; Asiatic Researches, 12 vols.; Hargrove's Collection of State Trials, 11 vols. folio; Hawkesworth's Voyages, 3 vols. 4to; Cooke's Voyages, 3 vols. 4to; Literary History of the 18th Century, 8 vols.; J. Stuart Mills' Dessertations, 4 vols.; Rose's New Biographical Dictionary, 12 vols.; Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 7 vols.; Neibuhr's Hist. Rome, 2 vols.; Swedenborg's Works, 10 vols.; Elegant Extracts, edited by J. G. Percival, 6 vols.

Smithsonian Institution publications, 4 vols.; Pennsylvania Legislative Journals, 1662–1781, 6 vols., folio; Hamilton's Hist. of the Republic of the United States, 7 vols.; Duyckinck's Hist. of the War, 3 vols.; National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans, 5 vols.; Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, 7 vols.; Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature, vol. 1; Condition of Affairs in the Southern States, as reported to Congress, 13 vols.; Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, 3 vols.; Delaplaine's Repository of Distinguished Americans, 3 vols.; Dunlap's Hist. of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the U. S., 2 vols.; Geological Survey and Organic Remains of Canada, 9 vols.; De Rivers and Tschudi's Peruvian Antiquities, 3 vols.; Delafield's Inquiry into the Origin of American Antiquities, 1839, 4to; Butterfield's Hist. of Crawford's Campaign; Field's Essay on Indian Bibliography; concluding vols., 9 and 10, of Bancroft's Hist. of the United States; Colonial Records of Virginia, 1619–80; Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, Va., 1730–73, and St. John's Church, Richmond.

To summarize the character of the additions: Newspaper files bound, 179 vols.; Reviews and Magazines, 359; Foreign history, biography and travels, 261; American history, 111; American biography, 100; American travels and geography, 62; Metaphysics and science, 70; American civil war, 92; Congressional documents and publications, 135; British and American Patents, 142; American Politics, 41; Wisconsin State documents, and works relating to Wisconsin, 75; Documents of other States, 30; Education, 31; Religion, 36; American local history, 50; Genealogy, 27; Agriculture

and Horticulture, 57; Historical and Learned Societies, 27; Archæology and Antiquities, 18; Canada and the British Provinces, 21; Bibliography, 16; American Indians, 29; Revolutionary War, 24; War of 1812, 4; Florida War, 2; Mexican War, 2; Mormons, 3; Poetry, 14; Philology, 7; Encyclopedias, 8; Secret Societies, 9; Shakespeariana, 10; Miscellaneous, 68.

Newspaper Department.—The bound files of additions to this department have been large and valuable, as the following list will show:

Old English papers, 1681-1799.....	1 vol. folio.
Gazette De Cologne, 1760 and 1780.....	2 vols. 4to.
Connecticut Courant, 1786-93.....	1 vol. folio.
New York Gazette, 1790-91.....	1 vol. folio.
Columbia Centinel, 1792-93	1 vol. folio.
New York Herald, 1795-97	3 vols. folio.
Connecticut Journal, 1796-97	1 vol. folio.
New York Spectator, 1797-99.....	2 vols. folio.
Boston Independent Chronicle, 1797-99.....	3 vols. folio.
Boston Gazette, 1797-99.....	1 vol. folio.
Connecticut Journal, 1798-99.....	1 vol. folio.
Connecticut Courant, 1799-1801	1 vol. folio.
Boston Independent Chronicle, 1800	1 vol. folio.
Old English papers, 1800-71.....	1 vol. folio.
Connecticut Courant, 1801-03.....	1 vol. folio.
Boston Palladium, 1801-12.....	6 vols. folio.
New York Spectator, 1800-16	4 vols. folio.
Charleston Courier, 1803.....	1 vol. folio.
Boston Gazette, 1804.....	1 vol. folio.
New York Columbian, 1809-10.....	1 vol. folio.
The War, 1812-14.....	2 vols. 4to.
Cooperstown Freeman's Journal, 1820-32	6 vols. folio.
Columbian Centinel, 1822-29	5 vols. folio.
Boston Centinel, 1823-25.....	2 vols. folio.
Boston Telegraph, 1824-25	1 vol. folio.
Boston Recorder, 1826-29.....	1 vol. folio.
Chambers' Edinburgh Jour., 1832-43.....	12 vols. folio.
New York Plaindealer, 1836-37.....	1 vol. 4to.
Baltimore Patriot, 1836-37.....	1 vol. folio.
Saturday Courier, 1836-38.....	1 vol. folio.
New York Observer, 1851-72.....	20 vols. folio.
The Crayon, 1855-60	7 vols. folio.
Michigan papers, 1855-67.....	1 vol. folio.
Life Illustrated, 1857-59.....	2 vols. folio.
Congressional Globe, 1865-73.....	7 vols. folio.

New York Christian Enquirer, 1866..	1 vol. folio.
Ashtabula Sentinel, 1868.....	1 vol. folio.
Christian Advance, 1868-69	1 vol. folio.
New York Methodist, 1868-69	1 vol. folio.
Wisconsin newspaper files, 1869-73.....	54 vols. folio.
Boston Spectator, 1871	1 vol. folio.
Cincinnati Gazette, 1871-72.....	1 vol. folio.
Rail-Road Gazette, 1871-72	2 vols. folio.
Nation, 1871-72.....	3 vols. 4to.
Boston Advertiser, 1872.....	1 vol. folio.
Chicago Times, 1872.....	1 vol. folio.
Chicago Tribune, 1872-73.....	2 vols. folio.
Golden Age, 1872	1 vol. 4to.
New York Tribune, 1872-73.....	3 vols. folio.
New York World, 1872-73.....	3 vols. folio.

Total.....179 volumes.

Of these newspaper additions, one volume relates in part to the 17th century, 17 to the 18th, and 161 to the 19th—making the totals, of the 17th century, 62 vols.; of the 18th, 329; of the present century, 1,932—grand total, 2,323.

The Society now receives 185 periodicals preserved for binding—an increase of 36 since last year—of which 5 are quarterlies, 8 monthlies, 172 weeklies, 3 semi-weeklies, and 9 dailies—all, save 25, are published in Wisconsin. It is highly creditable to our Wisconsin publishers that they so generally contribute their publications to our Society—for which they deserve our heartiest thanks, as they will surely receive the benedictions of those who come after us.

Thus, it will be seen, that our newspaper department—one of the largest in the country—is steadily augmenting its rich accumulations. It is constantly consulted for various facts and passing events, for matters and details not elsewhere to be found.

To the map and atlas department have been added, Gray's Atlas, 1873, a fine work; Harrison and Warner's several atlases of Dodge, Green, and Waukesha counties, Wisconsin, from the publishers; Lapham's Geological Map of Wisconsin, from Governor Washburn; map of Clark county; map of Barron county, and of Janesville—total 8; making the present number of maps and atlases 573.

DONORS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Yale College, 160 vols., of which 23 were bound vols. of newspa-

pers, and 125 magazines, and 21 pamphlets; British Patent Office, 136 vols.; U. S. Interior Department, 109 vols.; Hon. G. W. Bradford, Freeman's Journal, 1820-32, 6 vols., and 20 other vols. and 49 pamphlets; Mass. Hist. Soc., 25 vols. bound newspaper files, and 5 unbound; Hon. T. O. Howe, 16 vols. and 168 pamphlets; U. S. Patent Office, 16 vols.; Swedenborg Pub. Society, N. Y., 12 vols.; State of Wisconsin, 11 vols.; Dr. S. A. Green, 9 vols. and 284 pamphlets; A. R. C. Selwyn, of Canadian Geological Survey, 9 vols.; Hon. Henry Barnard, 8 vols.; S. L. Boardman, 7 vols. and 15 pamphlets; James Alexander, 7 vols. and 10 pamphlets; Smithsonian Institution 7 vols.; B. W. Suckow, 7 vols.; in exchange, 7 vols.; Illinois Industrial University, 6 vols.; J. R. Simms, 5 vols. and 13 pamphlets; Regents N. Y. University, 5 vols.; Seventh Day Adventist Tract Society of Wisconsin, 5 vols.; S. G. Drake, 4 vols.; Dr. J. C. Shea, 4 vols.; Mrs. L. C. Draper, 4 vols.; Hon. James Shaw, 3 vols. and 23 pamphlets; Gen. W. S. Stryker, 3 vols. and 12 pamphlets; Hon. T. H. Wynne, 3 vols.; President Bascom, 3 vols.; Surgeon General's office 3 vols.; American Geographical Society, 2 vols. and 13 pamphlets; W. S. Appleton, 2 vols. and 2 pamphlets; State of Mass. 2 vols.; N. Matson, 2 vols.; U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, 2 vols.; Rev. S. R. Riggs, 2 vols.; L. B. Hills, 1 vol. and 4 pamphlets; Hon. J. H. Trumbull, 1 vol. and 79 pamphlets; American Congregational Association, 1 vol. and 47 pamphlets; Rev. Dr. W. S. Perry, 1 vol. and 35 pamphlets; Hon. S. D. Hastings, 1 vol. and 32 pamphlets; Prof. W. F. Allen, 1 vol. and 5 pamphlets; D. S. Durrie, 1 vol. and 4 pamphlets; J. J. Anderson, 1 vol. and 2 pamphlets; Col. Charles Whittlesey, Rev. Dr. S. Fallows, Public Library of Indianapolis, and Maryland Hist. Society, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet each; and the following 1 vol. each: Hon. Levi Alden, M. Arrowsmith, C. W. Butterfield, Peter D. Clarke, Robert Clarke, S. C. Cleveland, H. Coleman, P. Cudmore, B. S. DeForest, Hon. Frederick DePeyster, Evangelical Alliance, S. C. Frey, J. Smith Futhy, Hon. Wm. Garrett, J. S. Harris, C. J. Hoadly, Rev. E. W. Hooker, O. J. Hodge, Rev. R. M. Hodges, J. H. Klippart, Hon. John B. Linn, Gen. N. F. Lund, Charles McKnight, Hon. A. B. Mullett, Gen. R. Patterson, Samuel T. Reeves, John R. Rollins, Col. J. T. Scharf, J. N. Stewart, Dr. N. T. True, Hon. T. N. Vandyke, J. S. White, Hon. James Williams, Hon. Cyrus Woodman, Chicago Board of Education, Brookline Public Library, Maryland

Historical Society, Minnesota Academy of Natural Sciences, Pennsylvania Historical Society, San Francisco Public Library, St. Louis Mercantile Library, and State of Pennsylvania.

Donors of pamphlets: S. C. Gould, 66; Hon. E. P. Smith, 51; Essex Institute, 50; Joel Munsell, 16; H. R. Howland, 14; Dr. T. A. Cheney, 11; Rev. A. C. Pennock, 9; Dr. I. A. Lapham, 7; R. Gourdin, 7; Rev. C. D. Bradlee and L. C. Draper, 6 each; Rev. R. C. Waterston, R. A. Brock. E. R. Leland, and T. H. Little, 5 each; Gen. M. C. Meigs, and G. R. Howells, 4 each; Com. G. H. Preble, T. C. Chamberlain, A. P. Draper, and N. E. Historic-Genealogical Society, 3 each; Miss R. L. Bodley, Hon. T. W. Field, and Chas. C. Smith, 2 each; and the following 1 each: Andover Theological Seminary, Hon. H. D. Barron, Col. E. M. Boykin, Rev. Dr. A. L. Chapin, E. P. Dorr, Hon. S. B. Elkins, T. H. Ellis, E. H. Goss, D. G. Francis, Harvard College, A. H. Hoyt, Dr. T. V. Huntoon, S. C. Jackson, Dr. E. Jarvis, M. M. Jones, D. S. Jordan, W. J. Langson, G. A. Leavitt & Co., Hon. James Lenox, Library Company of Phila., Maj. C. G. Mayers, Hon. A. G. Miller, Hon. A. Mitchell, Minnesota Historical Society, Montana Historical Society, N. Y. Mercantile Lib. Ass., Ohio State Library, Gen. J. K. Proudfit, Dr. J. T. Reeve, Hon. Jas. Ross, Col. John Rosser, Albert Salisbury, Rev. E. M. Stone, W. A. Steel, A. C. Smith, Geo. L. Weed, and Western Reserve Historical Society; and 24 purchased.

PICTURE GALLERY ADDITIONS.

Portrait of John Gregory, of Milwaukee, civil engineer, and author of several works on Wisconsin, painted by Louis G. Joran—presented by Mr. Gregory; portrait of Sidney L. Rood, painted by Prof. A. Bradish, and presented by the late Mr. Rood; portrait of Hon. W. A. Prentiss, an early pioneer of Milwaukee, painted by Prof. Bradish, in gilt frame, presented by Mr. Prentiss; portrait of Col. J. W. Jefferson, of the 8th Wisconsin regiment, painted by Alex. Marquis, Milwaukee, elegant gilt frame, presented by Col. Jefferson, portrait of Col. Jas. Morrison, an early settler of the Lead Region, and subsequently of Madison, gilt frame, presented by Hon. N. W. Dean; portrait of Morgan L. Martin, an early and distinguished pioneer of Green Bay, painted and presented by Prof. Bradish.

When our Wisconsin Historical Society was re-organized in 1854, it was voted to request Hon. Lewis Cass, among others, to furnish

his portrait for its Art Gallery. This request was based on the fact that Gen. Cass had been Governor of Michigan Territory from 1813 to 1831, during all which period Wisconsin formed a part of Michigan, and its few inhabitants were governed by the laws and authorities of that Territory. Gen. Cass took great interest in the region, then little known, west of Lake Michigan, and did much with his able pen and personal influence to bring it into notice. In 1820, he organized an exploratory expedition, with himself very properly at its head, accompanied by Henry R. Schoolcraft, James D. Doty, C. C. Trowbridge and others—Mr. Trowbridge alone surviving of all this interesting party who traversed Wisconsin fifty-four years ago. Mr. Schoolcraft gave to the world a valuable work on the geographical, topical, and mineralogical characteristics of the new country, pointing out its natural history, climate, productions and capabilities.

Gen. Cass, as its civil governor, not only proved himself the father of our Upper Northwestern Country, but serving in the additional capacity of Superintendent of Indian affairs, he long managed with consummate wisdom, the several tribes of the Chippewas, Sioux, Winnebagoes, Ottowas, Pottowatomies, and Menominies, who had previously for many years been more or less debauched by British presents and influence; and thus his wise management preserved the border settlements from the bloody tomahawk and scalping-knife. Superadded to all this, few men have, by their faithful study of the history and characteristics of the Red race, been able to discuss the interesting subject, in all its bearings, with the ability and knowledge which a long period of years intimately associated with them and their agents in public relations, enabled Gen. Cass to do; and his papers on these topics, in the *North American Review*, have long been recognized as invaluable contributions to Indian historical and archæological literature.

It is not strange, then, that our Historical Society early sought to secure and preserve among its proudest and richest acquisitions a portrait of one of the ablest and purest public men of not only the great Northwest, but of the whole country, and for eighteen consecutive years the civil ruler of our people. Gen. Cass recognized its propriety, and kindly consented to comply with the Society's wishes; but the cares of public life, and the subsequent tur-

moil of civil war, prevented its fulfillment, and finally, in 1866, the veteran statesman,

“ Full of honors, and full of years”

passed on to the better world.

Recently, Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, one of the Society's faithful friends, kindly called the attention of the surviving members of Gen. Cass' family to this matter, and Col. H. Ledyard, his son-in-law, in their behalf, promptly ordered the engagement of Lewis T. Ives, an eminent artist of Detroit, to make a copy from the original of a superb likeness, painted for Mr. Trowbridge by George P. A. Healey, in Paris, in 1839, while Gen. Cass was minister at the Court of St. Cloud. Healey, while abroad, executed, besides this of Gen. Cass, notable likenesses of Louis Philippe and Marshal Soult; at home, of Webster, Calhoun, Pierce, Buchanan and others.

Mr. Ives has confessedly been successful in the copy he has made for our Historical Society, and which has been examined and admired by many of our prominent citizens and distinguished visitors. Mr. Trowbridge, in his notice of it in the Detroit Free Press, denominates it “an admirable portrait”—and surely his judgment is high praise; and several of our own citizens who personally knew Gen. Cass, confirm the justness of his estimate. “The artist,” adds Mr. Trowbridge, “has succeeded in the difficult task of catching the *spirit* of the original, with which, in every respect his work favorably compares.” The picture exhibits Gen. Cass at the age of fifty-seven, when in the zenith of his fame, and attests the dignity, intelligence, and commanding presence of the man. The canvass is nearly four feet by three, and encased in a magnificent gilt frame. It is one of the most attractive portrait acquisitions, and the most valuable, historically considered, the Society has yet received; and toward Col. Ledyard and the Cass family, the Society, and the people of Wisconsin, will ever cherish the most grateful feelings for so valuable and appropriate a gift of art.

These additions increase the number of oil-paintings in the Art-Gallery to 98.

ADDITIONS TO THE CABINET.

Antiquities.—A collection of bones, arrow-heads, etc., taken from a mound on the premises of G. H. Durrie, near Lake Wingra, in

Madison, from G. H. Durrie; a collection of bones and fragments of pottery, from a mound on Gen. G. P. Delaplaine's land, on Lake Wingra, from Fred Rice; a fine specimen of flint arrow-head, found in a mound half a mile north of Richland City, on Spring River, from Dr. C. B. Pearson.

Ancient Records.—Copy of a last will and testament of Mary, wife of Levi Gardiner, of Gardiner's Island, dated April 19, 1664—entailed property, from Fred'k Thompson; a deed of land, on parchment, from Edward Alleyn, and Lydia, his wife, of Boston, to Roger Clap, of Castle Island, Mass., Nov. 20, 1685, presented by Reuben R. Dodge, of Sutton, Mass.

Currency.—A \$1 script, Hungarian Fuud, 1852, from C. A. Robbins; 25 cent bill of the corporation of Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 6, 1866, payable in U. S. currency, from O. M. Dering.

Natural History.—A bottle of deposits from the Sparta Mineral Spring, from Chas. Shuter; specimen of Copper ore from the Brule copper mine, Douglas county, Wis., and a specimen of iron ore, 68 per cent., from the Penokee Range, Ashland county, Wis., from Hon. S. S. Fifield; a centipede, preserved in alcohol, from F. A. Pomeroy, Dallas, Kansas; a collection of entomological specimens, from Henry S. Hubbard, Detroit; a fine specimen of whale's tooth, from Dr. C. B. Pearson; six nodules, various sizes, found in plowing in Cross Plains, Wis., from Chris. Wahlrake; a specimen of wool from sheep belonging to T. H. Eaton, Monroe, Wis., a cross of Liecester and Cotswold—very fine, 17 inches long; a piece of wood found in digging a well, in Bon Homme, Dakota, on a high prairie, after passing through 42 feet of soil, drift, gravel, and boulders, from A. W. Barber, Yankton.

Old Manuscripts.—Manuscript letter of Hon. John C. Calhoun, Sec'y. of War, May 9, 1820, to Eleazar Williams, in reference to the St. Regis tribe of Indians; manuscript letter of Rev. Bishop Jackson Kemper, Jan. 10, 1854, relative to Indian books for the Oneidas—both purchased; a bill-head of the famous John Hancock, from S. G. Drake.

Old Newspapers, etc.—Fac-simile of Ulster county Gazette, Jan. 4, 1800, in mourning for the death of Washington, from M. H. Irish; ten English newspapers, 1820–27, with accounts of the trial of Queen Caroline, death of Canning, etc.; English lottery tickets 1813–16; songs, etc.. on the trial of Queen Caroline, from Chas

Shuter; St. James Chronicle, London, April 23, 1813, containing an account of the engagement between the Constitution and Java, from J. M. Tarr.

Photographs and Lithographs—A photograph of the house in which the first Territorial Legislature met, at Belmont, LaFayette county, 1836, glazed framed, presented by T. Jenkins, Platteville; photograph of the battle flag of the 2nd Miss. vols., captured with the regiment by the 6th Wis. vols., at Gettysburg, July 1, 1863, from Gen. Rufus Dawes; a photograph of Henry W. Tenney, an early lawyer who settled at Milwaukee in 1847, now of Chicago, from Mr. Tenney; 18 lithographed bird's eye pictures of various Wiscon cities and villages, obtained by exchange; 22 similar pictures of Wisconsin cities and villages, presented by John J. Stoner—all designed to exhibit every public building, store, and residence in each place at the time represented.

Revolutionary Relic.—An ivory-handle sword, with plated ornamented head, used by Capt. Thos. Harvey, in the Revolutionary War, great grandfather of the late Gov. L. P. Harvey, presented by Mrs. A. P. Harvey, now of Buffalo, the mother of Governor Harvey.

Miscellaneous.—Souvenir du bombardment de Paris, 1870–71, par les Allemands, from Hon. C. C. Washburn; five passes used in Louisiana during military rule, from G. O. Cromwell, Tomah; a memorial of the primitive history of Chicago, photo-lithographed from the original pen copy by Sidney L. Hurlbut, by whom presented; model of a raft of lumber in sections, from Thos. Purcell; a horse's foot with summer shoe, and winter shoe, from Leggett & Donovan, Madison; a piece of pilot bread from the steamer *Virginus*, after she was raised, from L. J. Baker.

UNBOUND SERIALS.

New Haven Palladium, and other papers, covering a period of twenty-one years, from Yale College; LaFayette County Democrat, Oct., 1867–Oct., 1870, from publisher; Gospel Messenger and Church Record, 1839, from Mrs. E. M. Williamson; National Intelligencer, Jan., 1815–Jan., 1816, and from 1838–42, from Massachusetts Historical Society; 27 old newspapers, 1810–1850, from G. Francis; Mechanic's Journal, 1846–47, Cultivator, 1842, District School Journal, 1840–41. and Teacher's Advocate, 1845–46, from

J. R. Simms; Geographical and Military Museum, March-June, 1814, and 22 numbers of African Repository, from Hon. G. W. Bradford; Edinburgh Review, 1872-73; London Quarterly Review, 1872-73; Fortnightly Review, twenty numbers, 1871-74, and twenty numbers of various magazines, from S. C. Gould.

Contributions for Exchanges.—Fifty copies each of Senate and Assembly Journals, Governor's Message and Documents, and Laws of Wisconsin, 1874; 100 copies of Transactions of the Wisconsin Agricultural Society, 1873-74, 100 copies of Transactions of Wisconsin Academy of Science, 25 copies of Transactions of Wisconsin Horticultural Society, from the State; 209 copies of various State Reports, 1873, from E. J. Cole, Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms, Senate; 14 copies Wisconsin Horticultural Society Transactions, 1873, from Geo. E. Morrow; 25 copies Wisconsin Board of Charities and Reform, from Hon. S. D. Hastings; 36 copies of Catalogue of the University of Wisconsin, from Prof. W. F. Allen, and 12 do. from Prof. R. B. Anderson; 42 copies of Judge Miller's Address to the Old Settler's Club, Milwaukee, and 12 copies of J. S. Buck's Early Days of Milwaukee, from the Old Settler's Club; 5 copies of Report of Superintendent of Public Instruction of Wisconsin, from Hon. S. Fallows; 4 copies of Trade of Commerce of Milwaukee, 1873, W. J. Langson, Sec'y; 25 copies of Proceedings of Wisconsin Editorial Association, 1873, from Hon. James Ross, Sec'y; 40 copies of Prof. S. H. Carpenter's pamphlet edition of his Philosophy of Evolution, and 10 copies Industrial Education, from Prof. Carpenter; 22 copies of Suckow's Madison Directory, 1866, from B. W. Suckow.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS.

The following historical papers have been received during the year, and filed for future publication:

Account of the Leech and Sandy Lake country, and Indian tribes in 1820, by Hon. James D. Doty; and eleven unedited manuscripts, interesting Indian legends, noted down from the lips of Indian chroniclers of the tribes of the Northwest, some fifty years ago, by Hon. C. C. Trowbridge, then connected with the Indian Department at Detroit, under Gov. Cass, and in one instance partly penned by Gen. Cass himself, evincing an ingenious variety of plot and incident of such legendary stories on the part of the Indian narrators, from Mr. Trowbridge.

Anecdotes of Judge Charles Reaume, the first justice of Green Bay and Wisconsin, as published 30 years ago in the Green Bay Republican.

Trial of Winnebago Indians at Prairie du Chien, in 1828.

Various historical reminiscences of Wisconsin, as given by the Green Bay Republican in 1844.

Early Western Days—Primitive Times of the Pioneers, by Hon. John T. Kingston.

Indian Campaign of 1832, by an officer of Gen. Atkinson's Brigade, from the Military and Naval Magazine, 1833.

Memoir of Hon. John Y. Smith, by D. S. Durrie.

Note on the grave of White Crow, a Winnebago Chief, by Hon. Stephen Taylor.

GENERAL RESUME.

These details show the addition to the library to have been 3,131 volumes—among them, 179 bound newspaper files, and many other valuable works, seven oil-paintings; quite a number of important historical papers for future publication, and many contributions to the Cabinet collection. The hall has been newly painted and grained during the year, and two book alcoves provided.

The venerable Mr. Isaac Lyon, now an octogenarian, has given another year's devoted attention to the numerous visitors to the Cabinet department—truly a voluntary labor of love with him, performed without money and without price.

WISCONSIN LOCAL HISTORY.

Recently has appeared a very valuable work on the History of Madison and the Four Lake Country by our worthy Librarian, Mr. Durrie. It was none too early to save the rich collection of facts and early details embodied in this volume—for some of its contributors have already passed away. It is proper that a Society like ours should recognize, with hearty words of approval, every such production of Wisconsin local history, and especially one so well-deserving as this of Mr. Durrie.

Our State has yet produced but few local histories—Martin Mitchell's Histories of Fond du Lac and Winnebago counties, 1854 and 1856; Guernsey & Willard's History of Rock county, 1856; A. C. Wheeler's Chronicles of Milwaukee, 1861; W. H. Canfield's Sketch-

es of Sauk county, incomplete, 1861; Hon. C. E. Dyer's Historical Address on Racine county, 1871; Dr. R. A. Koss' History of Milwaukee, in German, 1872; H. H. Hurlbut's Early Days of Racine, 1872; W. H. Canfield's Baraboo, and its Water Power, 1873; D. S. Durrie's Green Bay for Two Hundred Years, and Annals of Prairie du Chien, 1873; and several county sketches in our Society's Collections, and others preserved in the columns of newspapers.

Let these prove a worthy incentive to similar productions in other counties and localities of our State—if not in distinctive volumes, at least in faithfully gathered and carefully sifted facts and narratives for the archives of our Society, or the columns of some local newspaper.

THE UTILITY OF THE LIBRARY.

We live in an age of progress. What answered very well half a century ago, has little or no adaptation to the wants of the present. Then a few books in the clergyman's library, or a few more ambitious collections attached to colleges, or in some half a dozen of our seaboard cities, seemed to be as much as anyone expected; and, at that day, a young man, hungering and thirsting after intellectual advancement, who could borrow half a dozen volumes in his village or rural neighborhood, was regarded as peculiarly fortunate, and was thought to be on the high road to knowledge and to fame.

Fifty years ago, all the prominent public libraries in the country scarcely aggregated two hundred thousand volumes—now, several single collections exceed that number, aggregating, in the whole, millions of volumes. And yet a recent writer in New York asserts, that "there is no library in that city that is at all complete;" and a literary gentleman of Chicago, in collecting materials for a work on which he is engaged, writes to our Librarian, requesting examinations in our collection in his behalf, adding, "We have no books in Chicago."

This is quite true of all the Libraries of our country—all are sadly deficient in most departments where thorough research and investigation are instituted. Our scholars and investigators are pushing their inquiries to the extremest limits of human knowledge, and seek light from every possible source. Men of this class, consecrating their lives and talents to the advancement of the race,

seldom possess means of their own with which to gratify their tastes, and stimulate their efforts—and hence, necessarily, rely upon our public libraries to supply their intellectual wants. Not a few works of a most desirable, yet expensive character, are beyond the reach of individual ability to purchase; and these, it is especially expected our great libraries will provide.

Many would suppose, that in a collection like ours, of sixty thousand volumes, reasonably well distributed among the several departments most generally consulted, that scholars and investigators would find almost everything needed; but in point of fact, it is far otherwise. Thousands of works are asked for which our Library does not possess.

That the free public library is one of the most effective and important of the many educational methods of the age, needs no special argument to demonstrate. It is everywhere conceded. Carlyle, in his address when installed as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, said: "What the Universities do—what they have done for me—is to teach me to read in various languages, and in various sciences; so I could go to the books that treated on these things, and pry into and make myself master of anything I wanted to know. Hence after the classes, the library." Our book collection confessedly constitutes one of the most important helps to the students of the State University; and, it would not be far-fetched to say, that it is, to all practical purposes, the adjunct of the University—the consulting Library of its professors and students. In this view alone, not to elaborate others, it is worthy of the highest encouragement of the State.

Our library is doing a silent, noble, effective work—not for a single day or year, but for all time. It is gathering up the recorded wisdom and experiences of the ages—the details of every-day life, and of every day's progress in the eventful period in which we live. It is constantly inditing its instructions, as with the pen of a diamond, upon the immortal minds that are attracted here to taste at the perennial spring. It has been beautifully said: "The judicious labors, the profound reasonings, the sublime discoveries, the generous sentiments of great intellects, rapidly work their way into the common channels of public opinion, find access to the general mind, raise the universal standard of attainment, correct popular errors, promote acts of daily application, and come home at last to the fire-

side in the shape of increased intelligence, skill, comfort, and virtue, which, in their turn, by an instantaneous reaction, multiply the numbers and facilitate the efforts of those who engage in the further investigation and discovery of truth."

THE NEEDS OF THE SOCIETY.

We need more shelf capacity for the proper distribution of our books, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets; better facilities for serving the public, and for protecting the priceless treasures confided to our charge. We must naturally look to the State for these increased means of usefulness. In these times of short crops, low prices, and small rewards for labor, we do not wish to be thought unreasonable in the respectful presentation of our wants, and only ask that they may receive at the hands of the Legislature a just and proper consideration.

For several successive years we have shown a disposition to do something, independent of State aid, in the accomplishment of one of the many objects our Society has in view—the securing of an endowed Binding Fund of sufficient magnitude, that the annual income from it would meet the wants of the library. That Fund, as the figures show, has increased \$921.02 the past year, and now aggregates \$2,724.61. This sum falls far short of the needed endowment of ten thousand dollars.

We have recently sent out our appeal for contributions to this fund to a goodly number of friends of the Society, mostly in our own State. Some few have responded favorably, and others have intimated future aid. We earnestly hope those appeals may not go unheeded, nor these hopes and promises be suffered to pass into forgetfulness. Were our friends, who do not feel able at present to contribute to this meritorious object, to make us a pledge of a specified amount per year for five years, it would doubtless go far, in the aggregate, to make this greatly needed endowment a triumphant success.

Such gifts can never be lost; they will go on their mission of goodness forever. They will ennoble the giver, and serve to build up and perpetuate one of the most useful institutions our State possesses—accumulating and disseminating, as it does, wisdom and knowledge to all classes of society. It has justly been said: "No

truth can perish; no truth can pass away. The flame is undying, though generations disappear. Wherever moral truth has started into being, humanity claims and guards the bequest. Each generation gathers together the imperishable children of the past, and increases them by new sons of light, alike radiant with immortality."

Twenty-Second Report.

Submitted January 4, 1876.

The year 1875 has resulted in large and varied additions to the Library—the issuing of a Supplement to the Catalogue—and securing, we trust permanently, a remarkable collection of the Pre-Historic Antiquities of Wisconsin. The details of these evidences of continued prosperity serve to attest the healthful growth of the Society in all its departments of collection.

FINANCIAL CONDITION—BINDING FUND.

The Treasurer's report gives the receipts of the year into the General Fund as \$3,535.74; and the expenditures, \$3,533.87, showing a balance of \$1.87.

The Binding Fund—one of the greatest needs of the Society—was last year reported at \$2,724.61. During the year donations to this Fund have been received from Hon. Alexander Mitchell, \$250; Hon. C. C. Washburn, \$100; Samuel Marshall, Gen. J. J. Guppy, Gen. James Sutherland, Hon. M. H. Carpenter, and Hon. Andrew Proudfit, fifty dollars each; Rev. Dr. R. M. Hodges, a renewal of his annual contribution of \$20; Hon. G. W. Bradford, \$10 on a pledge of \$50; duplicate books sold, \$448.87; accrued interest, \$232.95; annual dues from members, net \$32;—thus showing an addition of \$1,343.82—making the total present amount of this Fund, \$4,068.43.

Grateful for the liberal contributions of the past, we renew our appeals to the friends of the Society to continue their efforts in behalf of this Fund until it reaches the sum of at least ten thousand dollars, when the annual income therefrom will perpetually enable the Society to secure the binding of hundreds of volumes of books, manuscripts, newspaper files, reviews, magazines, and pam-

phlets, constituting a most valuable portion of our collection, which are now necessarily neglected, and hence rendered comparatively unavailable for the important references for which they are constantly in demand.

The late Hon. John Catlin, who so thoughtfully gave the incipient donation for our Binding Fund, had intimated his further intention of bestowing, for the same object, the proceeds of a section of land on the western borders of Texas, so soon as it should be marketable; and his worthy relict, Mrs. Catlin, writes that she designs to carry into effect her late husband's intention. From this source, so soon as the Mexican and Indian raids in that quarter can be effectually suppressed, a very creditable addition to this Fund may be reasonably expected.

LIBRARY ADDITIONS.

The additions to the Library number 2,851 volumes, of which 1,494 were purchased, and 1,357 were secured by donation and exchanges, and 1,764 pamphlets, only 10 of which were by purchase—making the total book and pamphlet additions 4,615. Of the book additions, 165 are folios, and 153 quartos—increasing the number of folios in the Library to 2,214, and the quartos to 2,858, and both together, 5,072.

PROGRESSIVE LIBRARY INCREASE.

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table.

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	3,715
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2.....	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2.....	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2..	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, Jan. 2.....	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, Jan. 4.....	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
Total.....	32,319	32,681	65,000	.....

PRINCIPAL BOOK ADDITIONS.

English and Continental History and Literature.—Lingard's Eng-land, 10 vols.; Macaulay's England, 5 vols.; Henry's Hist. Great Britain, 12 vols.; Annals of Ireland, 7 vols., quarto; Hallam's Con-stitutional History, and Middle Ages, 6 vols.; Rapin's England, 28 vols.; Camden's Britannia, 4 vols., folio; Camden Society Publica-tions, 5 vols.; Harlean Miscellany, 12 vols; McCulloch's British Empire, 2 vols.; England's Battles, 3 vols. folio; Martial and Naval Achievements of England, 2 vols. quarto; Walpole's Letters. 10 vols.; Jesse's George III., 3 vols.; Gall's Diary of Life and Times of George IV., 4 vols.; British Patent Reports, 281 vols.—making

the present total, 3,410; Sam. Johnson's Works, 12 vols.; Ben. Jonson's Works, 1 vol. folio; Tillotson's Works, 3 vols. folio; Temple's Works, 2 vols. folio; Dryden's Comedies, &c., 2 vols. folio; Burnet's History of his own Times, 2 vols. folio; Sidney's Arcadia, 1 vol. folio; Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, 5 vols.; Hume's Essays, 2 vols.; Berkeley's Works, 3 vols.; Ruskin's Works, 8 vols.; Hooker's Works, 3 vols.; Jay's Works, 3 vols.; Sir Wm. Jones' Works, 9 vols. quarto; British Essayists, 3 vols.; Dugald Stewart's Works, 7 vols.; Mills' Hist of British India, 6 vols.; United Service Institution Journal, 14 vols.; Lives of the Princesses of England, 6 vols.; Percy Ballads and Romances, 3 vols.; Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, 4 vols.; Bohn's Standard Libraries, 244 vols.; Gifford's Wars of the French Revolution, 2 vols. quarto; Lamartine's Girondists, 3 vols.; Thiers' French Revolution and Consulate, 7 vols.; Tyndell's War with Russia, 3 vols. quarto; Alison's Europe, 4 vols.; Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe, 4 vols.; Whitson's Josephus, 4 vols.; Rawlinson's Herodotus, 4 vols.; Michaud's Crusaders, 3 vols.; Bunsen's Egypt's Place in History, 5 vols.; Bunsen's God in History, 3 vols.; Mitford's Greece, 8 vols.; Merivale's Romans, &c., 7 vols.; Liddell's Rome, 2 vols.; Niebuhr's Rome, 3 vols.; Niebuhr's Ancient History, 3 vols.; Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 6 vols.; Ruskin's Modern Painters, 5 vols.; Guizot's History of Civilization, 3 vols.; Letters on the Atlantis of Plato, 2 vols.; Servantes, Don Quixote, 4 vols.; and Kerr's Voyages and Travels, 18 vols.

Works on Antiquities, Science, &c.—Lardner's Cyclopedic, 31 vols.; Lardner's Museum of Science, &c., 12 vols.; Lardner's Works, 4 vols.; Ancient Symbol Worship; Inman's Ancient Faiths, 2 vols.; The Masculine Cross and Ancient Sex Worship; Pritchard's Natural History of Man, 2 vols.; Pickering's Races of Men; Monboddo's Origin and Progress of Language, 6 vols.; Nott's Lectures on the Physical Condition of Man; Grammar & Dictionary of the Gros Ventres Indians, 1 vol., quarto; Wilde's Circle of the Sciences, 4 vols.; Transactions of the Royal Society, 8 vols.; Philadelphia Academy of Science, 8 vols.; Boston Society of Natural History, 7 vols.; Ducarge's Glossarium, 6 vols. quarto; Hume's Philosophical Works, 4 vols.; Metcalf's Terrestrial Magnetism; Humboldt's Cosmos, 4 vols.; Hugh Miller's Works, 6 vols.; Cousin's Modern Philosophy,

2 vols.; Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, 4 vols.; and Nicholson's Architecture, 3 vols.

American History and Literature.—Bartlett's Hist. U. S., 3 vols. quarto; Anderson's Hist. of Church of England in the Colonies, 3 vols.; Natural Hist. of New York, 20 vols. quarto; Audubon's Birds of America, 7 vols., 8 vo., colored plates, 1840-44; Wilson's American Ornithology, 3 vols.; Madison's Letters & Writings, 4 vols.; Irving's Columbus, 3 vols.; Alexander Hamilton's Works, 3 vols.; Works of James Wilson, of Pa., 3 vols.; Margaret Fuller Ossoli's Works, 5 vols.; Lyman's Diplomacy of the U. S., 2 vols.; Allibone's Dict. of Authors, 2 vols.; Everett's Orations & Speeches, 4 vols.; U. S. Naval Observatory, 4 vols. quarto; Bishop's Hist. of American Manufactures, 3 vols.; Bates' Hist. of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 5 vols.; Memoir of J. Q. Adams, 3 vols.; Thomas' Dict. of Biography; Eliot's History of Liberty, 2 vols.; and Barton's Flora of North America, 3 vols. quarto.

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Bound Newspaper Files—The following have been added during the year.

Northampton Mercury, England, 1726-31.....	1 vol., quarto.
London Country Journal, 1728-33.....	1 vol., folio.
London Universal Spectator, &c, 1730-35.....	1 vol., folio.
London Grub Street Journal, 1730-35...?	1 vol., folio.
London Star and Evening Advertiser, 1788-89.....	1 vol., folio.
Connecticut Journal, 1801.....	1 vol., folio.
John Bull, Newspaper, 1820-39.....	13 vol., folio.
Miscellanies, collected from newspapers.....	1 vol., folio.
New York Observer, 1834-44.....	11 vol., folio.
Albany Jeffersonian, 1838-39.....	1 vol., quarto.
New Haven Palladium, 1839-56.....	13 vol., folio.
New York Tribune. 1841-42.....	1 vol., folio.
Southport, Wis., American, 1843-44.....	1 vol., folio.
Cherokee Messenger, 1844.....	1 vol., quarto.
Cincinnati Gazette, 1844-47.....	1 vol., folio.
Albany Cultivator, 1846.....	1 vol., quarto.
Mass. Charitable Assn. Intelligencer, 1847.....	1 vol., folio.
New York Independent, 1850-73.....	2 vol., folio.
Wisconsin newspaper files, 1849-73.....	70 vol., folio.
National Intelligencer, 1853.....	1 vol., folio.
Lynchburg, Va., Register, 1864.....	1 vol., quarto.
Richmond Dispatch & Inquirer, 1864-65.....	1 vol., folio.
Moore's Rural New Yorker, 1870.....	1 vol., quarto.
Christian Secretary, 1870-73.....	1 vol., folio.
Chicago Standard, 1872-73.....	1 vol., folio.
Woman's Journal, 1873.....	1 vol., quarto.
Nation, 1873.....	2 vol., quarto.
Rail Road Gazette, 1873.....	1 vol., quarto.
N. Y. Tribune, 1873-74.....	4 vol., folio.
N. Y. World, 1873-74.....	4 vol., folio.
Chicago Tribune, 1873-74.....	3 vol., folio.
Total.....	<u>144 vols.</u>

Five volumes of these newspaper additions pertain to the last century, and the others to the present century—making the totals of the 17th century, 62 vols.; of the 18th, 334; of the present century, 2,071—grand total, 2,467.

The total number of periodicals now received by the Society is 198—an increase of 13 over last year; of which 7 are quarterlies, 13 monthlies, 1 semi-monthly, 165 weeklies, 2 semi-weeklies, and 10 dailies—of which 166 are published in Wisconsin. No higher compliment could be paid to our Wisconsin publishers than is exhibited in this perpetual contribution to our invaluable Newspaper department.

To the Map and Atlas department have been added, an atlas of Rock county, Wis., 1873, quarto, from the supervisors of that county; a sectional map of Wisconsin, 1875, and a map of Milwaukee, from Silas Chapman; an early colonial map of Virginia and Maryland, no date, purchased.

Several volumes of unbound newspapers, mostly of Virginia, 1872-75, have been received from Th's H. Ellis, Esq., and the Am. Railroad Journal, 1852-61, incomplete, from Hon. M. M. Strong.

To summarize the Library additions: Bound newspaper files, 144 vols.; reviews and magazines, 383; foreign history, biography, travels, &c., 536; American general history, biography, travels, and politics, 193; American local history, 71; Indians, 7; Revolutionary war, 7; War of 1812, 2; Civil war, 52; Genealogy, 27; Antiquities and Archæology, 6; Historical and learned Societies, 17; Bibliography, 20; Philology, 11; Canada and British Provinces, 6; British and American Patent Reports, 295; Agriculture and Horticulture, 44; Congressional publications, 111; Wisconsin State Documents, 6; Documents of other States, 188; American and English literature, 147; Metaphysics and Science, 251; Education, 32; Religion, 88; Medicine 12; Classics, 27; Masonry, 7; Poetry, 16; Fine Arts, 34; Directories, 23; Encyclopedias, 3; works in German Language. 43; Miscellaneous, 42—total 2,851.

DONORS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

State of Wisconsin, mostly by transfer from State Library, 694 vols. and 303 pamphlets, besides many duplicates reserved for sale and exchange; British Patent Office, 281 vols.; W. P. Garrison, 12 vols. and 412 pamphlets; Interior Department, Washington, 75 vols.; Dr. S. A. Green, 3 vols, and 124 pamphlets; Boston Public Library, 44 vols.; State of Iowa, by Secretary of State, 41 vols.; Hon. G. W. Bradford, 34 vols. and 66 pamphlets; G. A. Harney, 16 vols.; Rev. Dr. W. S. Perry, 14 vols. and 26 pamphlets; Silas Chapman, 16 vols.: Hon. Alexander Mitchell, 11 vols.; Hon. T. O. Howe, 7 vols. and 60 pamphlets; U. S. Patent Office, 13 vols.; State of Vermont, 9 vols.; Gen. W. H. H. Terrill, 8 vols. and 17 pamphlets; Prof. W. F. Allen, 5 vols. and 19 pamphlets; Thomas H. Ellis, 4 vols. and 23 pamphlets; Prof. W. W. Daniels, 4 vols.; Gen. S. Cadwallader, 2 vols. donated, together with 43 vols. of bound newspapers files and Congressional Globes on deposit; Hon. John Eaton,

2 vols. and 3 pamphlets; L. C. Draper, 1 vol. and 17 pamphlets; Columbia College, 1. vol. and 11 pamphlets; G. P. Rowell, 5 vols.; Hon. C. Delano, Prof. E. T. Cox, Maj. H. A. Tenney, E. Y. Moore, and Mrs. Celina Newton, 2 vols. each: Dr. J. M. Toner, 1 vol. and 14 pamphlets; S. C. Gould, 1 vol. and 4 pamphlets; J. Wingate Thornton, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; Centennial Commission, 1 vol. and 6 pamphlets; Massachusetts Historical Society, 1 vol. and 2 pamphlets; D. S. Durrie, 2 vols. and 18 pamphlets; Robert Clarke, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; one vol. each from the American Antiquarian Society, Auditor of Ohio, Alfred Andrews, Byron Andrews, P. T. Barnum, S. G. Benedict, Matthew Bird, J. C. Brevoort, Thos. S. Clarkson, Coast Survey Bureau, Congress Library, B. B. Cutter, Rev. J. E. Davis, F. K. Field, G. H. Foster, James W. Gerard, H. A. Homes, Hon. C. Hudson, Gen. A. A. Humphrey, Francis Jackson, H. G. Jones, Hon. E. W. Leavenworth, Hon. J. B. Linn, Massachusetts Board of Education, D. McFarland, Minnesota Board of Agriculture, Rev. Silas McKen, Ada J. Moore, N. E. Historic Genealogical Society, Hon. J. G. Palfrey, Mrs. E. D. Pardee, R. Prinderville, Pryor & Co., J. W. Powell, Miss. E. S. Quincy, Thos. E. Randall, Supervisors of Rock County, Smithsonian Institution, Hon. D. Wells, W. Wis. Railroad Commissioners, Rev. R. J. Wright, and 2 by exchange.

Pamphlets.—Hon. Stephen Taylor, 136; Rev. J. Wilkinson, 46; Hon. L. B. Vilas, 43; Rhode Island Historical Society 41; Dr. T. A. Cheney, 18; Joel Munsell, 16; President Bascom, 16; Maj. J. O. Culver, 15; Gen. Simeon Mills, 13; purchased 11; newspaper and magazine articles pasted on commercial note paper into pamphlets, 134; Col. G. W. Bird, 10; Prof. A. Kerr, 10; I. S. Bradley, 9; Prof. R. B. Anderson, 9; St. Louis Board of Trade, 8; Jos. Sabin & Sons, 8; R. A. Brock, 8; Col. S. V. Shipman, 7; W. H. Payne, 6; President Wm. McCauley, 4; Rev. S. Reynolds, 4; Prof. E. W. Charlton, 3; B. W. Bowen, 3; I. A. Lapham, 3; Prof. R. Irving, 3; Hon. W. W. Field, 3; S. L. Boardman, E. M. Barton, Rev. E. M. Stone, P. W. French, Geo. J. Harvey, Rev. R. J. Wright, W. Gould, and Yale College, 2 each; and one each from Andover Theological Seminary, Astor Library, C. C. Baldwin, Hon. S. L. M. Barlow, Miss R. L. Bodley, Brooklyn Mercantile Library, Dr. J. R. Chadwick, Chicago Public Library, Hon. T. W. Field, Bela Hubbard, Harvard College, Hon. G. W. Hazleton, H. H. Hurlbut.

C. R. Holden, D. Holt, Wm. Hempstead, G. B. Howell, A. H. Hoyt, Rev. Dr. E. O. Haven, Licking Co., Ohio, Pioneer Association, Massachusetts General Hospital, Missouri Historical Society, Missouri University, Ohio Historical Society, Com. G. H. Preble, E. Pardee, Peabody Institute, S. A. Phoenix, Mrs. S. Reed, San Francisco Mercantile Library, Hon. Horatio Seymour, A. C. Smith, Mrs. Harriet Tenney, and Western Reserve Historical Society.

ART GALLERY.

The only oil painting added to the Art Gallery during the year is that of Horatio Ward, an American banker in London, who April 27, 1867, bequeathed to the Wisconsin Soldiers' Orphans' Home, and among similar institutions, \$23,554.97; painted in 1873, by James R. Stuart, and presented by the Trustees of the Orphans' Home, April 15, 1875, when the property was transferred to the State University. The total number of oil paintings now in the Gallery is 99.

PRE-HISTORIC ANTIQUITIES OF WISCONSIN.

Our Society has been singularly fortunate in having placed in its custody, and, on certain conditions, securing the ultimate ownership, of one of the largest and most valuable collections of pre-historic antiquities ever made in this country, or perhaps any other. It is worthy of record, as well as of interest, to note the facts which led to its collection, and to indicate its character and importance.

Frederick S. Perkins, of Burlington, Racine county, Wisconsin, the indefatigable collector of this remarkable collection, was born at Trenton Falls, Oneida county, N. Y., Dec. 6, 1832. His father, Origen Perkins, removed first to Joliet, Illinois, in Nov., 1835, and in August, 1836, made his advent to what is now Burlington, where he found only two small log buildings—one occupied as a tavern, the other as a store. He made a claim; and, in November ensuing, erected the first private dwelling in the town, and removed his family there in March, 1837. Here his son Frederick grew up enjoying only common school advantages, and working on the farm, till Nov., 1852, when he went to New York city with no definite purpose. Possessing a taste for drawing, and visiting the Dusseldorf Gallery, he became enthused with the desire to be an artist, and with the advice of A. B. Durand, President of the National Acad-

emy of Design, he entered the studio of Jasper F. Cropsey, with whom he studied assiduously two years, when he entered upon his profession in that city with good prospects of success—sometimes taking jaunts into the neighboring States.

While in the region of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, in 1857, Mr. Perkins became interested in the stone antiquities found in that section, and made quite a collection. In 1862, he opened his studio in Milwaukee; but returning to Burlington in 1864, and becoming connected in marriage with Miss Emily Wainright, he abandoned his profession for the time being, and settled down on the farm which his father had located in 1836; and then it was, he fairly commenced his collection of the pre-historic antiquities of Wisconsin—confined exclusively till 1871, to implements of the stone age. A single large copper spear-head, found three miles north of Burlington, in October of that year, so excited his interest, that he thenceforth made a speciality of seeking specimens of the copper age, not, however, neglecting to secure all good articles of the stone period.

He now began to systematize his mode of collection. He would spend many weeks at a time on a tour of thorough canvassing—taking a county, and going carefully through it by townships and sections, missing scarcely a house. He would make his inquiries, responding kindly to questions of curiosity, obtaining what specimens he could, paying for them when pay was demanded; and, not unfrequently, hearing of some fine specimen of the copper age that had been sold to some peddler for old copper, or cut up or melted for some trifling purpose. He would leave his card, so should other articles of interest be found, his name and address might be known; and being a ready and apt draughtsman, he would generally mark on his card the shape of a spear or arrow head, or some other antiquarian device, the better to keep his wishes in remembrance; and this he would particularly observe when at the residence of Germans and Norwegians. Thus, in all weather, with the thermometer sometimes as low as fifteen or twenty degrees below zero, or during the extreme heats of summer, would he push forward his journeyings with varied success.

In this manner were the counties of Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, Waukesha, Milwaukee, Jefferson, Dodge, Washington, Ozaukee, Fond du Lac and Sheboygan, and portions of Rock, Dane and La

Fayette, explored; not unfrequently sojourning for the night in a barn, hut or hovel, and sometimes suffering from a run-away of his horse, and encountering other perils and adventures.

Some days he would scarcely find one single stone arrow-head to reward his toils and efforts, and get discouraged; when the next day, perhaps, in some unpromising neighborhood, he would find the most interesting specimens both of stone and copper. These repeated journeys and explorations cost Mr. Perkins much time and expense; at a time, too, when he was necessitated to effect loans for improving his farm. But so fixed was his determination to make a unique and valuable collection, with the ultimate design of it becoming the property of the State in which he had spent the most of his life, that he practiced every self-denial in order to continue these collections; in which Mrs. Perkins, sympathising heartily with his tastes and purposes, would freely encourage her husband, even at the expense of personal and family comforts. All honor to such unselfish devotees for the benefit of science, and the extension of human knowledge!

The collections thus made consists of 600 stone rollers, pestles, knives, scrapers, awls, pikes, and anomalous forms; 365 stone axes of various forms and sizes; about 50 stone pipes and perforated ornaments; nearly 8,000 spear, lance and arrow-heads: and of copper articles, 68 spear or dirk-heads; with sockets for shafts; 5 notched for shafts, like flint arrow-heads; 9 with sound shanks to be inserted into shafts; 15 with flat shanks; 10 knives; 15 chisels or axes; 3 socket-axes, knives or adzes; 5 augers; 2 gads, 1 drill, and 9 of anomalous forms—numbering altogether over 9,000 articles of the pre-historic age. Nearly all are in the finest condition, and all were found in Wisconsin. All of the rarer articles are labelled with the names of their finders; and a record is preserved of the localities and circumstances of their discovery. The majority of them were turned up by the plow; but some were found as deep as ten or twelve feet below the surface—sometimes embedded in clay below the gravel.

The stone collection is simply wonderful, while the copper one is confessedly unequalled in the country. The copper districts of Lake Superior, which disclose so many evidences of ancient mining, doubtless furnished most of the material for the manufacture of these interesting implements of a former age; and it is not strange

that our own State should furnish the richest field for this rarest class of pre-historic remains. Prof. Charles Rau, in his valuable paper, in the Smithsonian Report for 1872, on the Ancient Aboriginal Trade of North America, justly remarks that "the copper articles left by the former inhabitants are by no means abundant;" adding, as an example, that during his thirteen years sojourn in the neighborhood of St. Louis, a region particularly rich in tumular structures, he did not succeed in obtaining a single specimen belonging to this class.

The American Antiquarian Society, during its sixty-three years' existence, has only obtained some half a dozen specimens of ancient copper implements, and less than 300 of stone; the Smithsonian Institution, it is understood, has accumulated 17 copper specimens, and has made casts of several of the Perkins' collection; the late Dr. Lapham, as the result of nearly forty years' efforts, secured only 11 copper articles, for some of which he was indebted to Mr. Perkins, and 165 stone implements; the German Natural History Society of Milwaukee has collected 10 copper specimens, and 91 of stone; Dr. Day, of Wauwatosa, 1 of copper, and 163 of stone; Beloit College, 1 of copper, and 53 of stone; and Col. C. C. Jones, formerly of Georgia, has six copper implements, described in his work on the antiquities of that State. And our own Society, after nearly a quarter of a century's efforts, has secured only 13 copper specimens, 39 stone axes, and a variety of spear and arrow-heads, and other stone implements.

When the late J. W. Foster, LL. D., of Chicago, published in 1874, his work on the Pre-Historic Races of America, in which he acknowledged his frequent indebtedness to Mr. Perkins' archaeological collections, and especially his collection of copper implements, it very naturally led several learned institutions to make inquiries whether he would be willing to dispose of them. Our late lamented associate, Dr. Lapham, the able antiquary and scientist, spent three days in a careful examination of Mr. Perkins' collection, expressing his astonishment at its extent and character—so infinitely in advance of his own, which he had been nearly four times as long in gathering.

Under such circumstances, it is a matter of no small felicitation that our Society has secured a collection so important for the illustration of the pre-historic period of Wisconsin, and which proba-

bly stands unrivalled by any similar collection in the country. Future generations will commend the foresight and persistence of Mr. Perkins in making it, and the wisdom of this Society in securing this priceless treasure. Let this richest acquisition of our Society serve to stimulate its officers and members, and the people of Wisconsin, to renewed efforts for the augmentation of this department of our collections, that it shall worthily attract the attention of the antiquaries of the civilized world.

OTHER ADDITIONS TO THE CABINET.

Antiquities.—A stone spear, about 12 inches long, and some 5 wide, found in an ancient Indian grave at Butte des Morts, Winnebago county, from S. D. Carpenter; a large sized stone ax found on the farm of Alf. Merrill, Esq., in the town of Madison, about eight inches below the surface of the soil; an arrow-head from the Big Springs, Wisconsin, from E. W. Marshall.

Currency, etc.—A \$50 Continental bill, dated Sept. 26, 1778; and a \$3 Continental bill, dated Feb. 17, 1776, paid to John Ormsby, of Vermont, for Revolutionary services, preserved and presented by his decendants; impression of a \$1000 six per cent. Wisconsin war bond, payable in 1888, from Miss Henshaw; a counterfeit \$50 Confederate bill, dated April 6, 1863, from Robert Remington, Wau-paca.

Manuscripts.—MS. notes of a trip to Europe in 1845, by Dr. Richard Lemon, from David Holt.

Natural History Specimens.—A cone of sugar pine tree, very large size, from the Nevada Mountains, Mariposa county, 50 miles southwest of Yo Semite Valley, from Mrs. Daniel Jackson, Evansville; head of a Rocky Mountain sheep, with large, heavy horns, from James M. Stoner, Colorado; a large elaborately carved box-wood spoon, from Rev. D. Jacobson; piece of perforated wood, from Puget's Sound, showing curious effects of insects, from W. H. H. Beadle, Yankton; a section of petrified wood, about 12 inches long by 3 wide, from the block coal mines of Indiana, from E. D. Darwin; a specimen of tin ore, and also of silver ore, from Cambray, Cornwall, England, from Richard Nichols, Darlington; a collection of mineral from the Hot Springs, Arkansas, from Wm. Wendsom, Jr.; stalactites and other formations from the cave in the town of Verona, from Mrs. D. Richardson; an ocean periwinkle, from John

E. Findlay; abbalony shell, from the Pacific coast, and red-wood bark from California; fine specimen of mineral from the Alameda quicksilver mine, Santa Clara Co., California; formations from mineral springs of California, pebbles from the Pacific coast, and moss and laurel wood, from California, garnets, pebbles, and pottery from the Navajo country, presented by Mrs. John Leigh, Oconto; specimen of lead ore, from Dodge Co., Wis., from Irving Dean; geode from Keokuk, Iowa, with crystals of quartz, a fine specimen, also a smaller one, from M. R. Pagett, Fort Atkinson; two specimens of variegated sandstone, from Mrs. E. L. Burnett, Faribault, Minn.; a small piece of stone, reputed to be silver mineral, found at Lynn, Mass., from J. T. Moulton; two sheets of flowers, from California, from Mr. Albee; a small petrified frog taken from a boulder of sand rock, eight feet below the surface, in digging a cellar for Peter Young, Madison; two bottles of water, one from the Dead Sea, the other from the river Jordan, from Dr. C. B. Chapman.

Photographs.—A large photographic group of early settlers of Milwaukee, neatly framed and glazed, presented by the Old Settlers' Club of that city; photograph of N. Goodell, an early Wisconsin pioneer, framed, from Mr. Goodell.

Relics.—A pewter platter, twenty inches in diameter, brought from Wales by B. Richardson; it has been an heirloom in the family since 1700; presented by Hon. Dustin Grow, one of the descendants, of Clinton, Wis., per Hon. D. G. Cheever; a pewter platter, part of the marriage portion of the bride, Eunice Marshall when married to Capt. Samuel Enos, in Dec. 1735, at Windsor, Conn.—presented by her great grand-daughter, Mrs. E. D. Pardee, Madison; a bronze medal in commemoration of the battle of Lexington, from Rev. E. G. Porter, Lexington; a common wooden chair, formerly the property of President Fillmore, one of a set with which he commenced house-keeping about 1826, presented by B. W. Bowen, Austin, Ill.; a pine shingle from the roof of a barn, in Barre, Vt., in use from 1796 to 1873, from J. T. Dodge; a bow, from the Navajo country, from Geo. H. Pradt, New Mexico; a military commission of Justin Jacobs as ensign, signed by a Gov. Martin Chittenden, of Vt., June 8, 1814, from Hon. A. Cameron; a small cannon made at Mobile, in October 1861, from a rebel rifle barrel, by R. F. Hastrieter, also some bullets from Mr. Hastrieter; a copy of the Vicksburg Daily Citizen, July 2, 1863, printed on

2 vols.; Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, 4 vols.; and Nicholson's Architecture, 3 vols.

American History and Literature.—Bartlett's Hist. U. S., 3 vols. quarto; Anderson's Hist. of Church of England in the Colonies, 3 vols.; Natural Hist. of New York, 20 vols. quarto; Audubon's Birds of America, 7 vols., 8 vo., colored plates, 1840-44; Wilson's American Ornithology, 3 vols.; Madison's Letters & Writings, 4 vols.; Irving's Columbus, 3 vols.; Alexander Hamilton's Works, 3 vols.; Works of James Wilson, of Pa., 3 vols.; Margaret Fuller Ossoli's Works, 5 vols.; Lyman's Diplomacy of the U. S., 2 vols.; Allibone's Dict. of Authors, 2 vols.; Everett's Orations & Speeches, 4 vols.; U. S. Naval Observatory, 4 vols. quarto; Bishop's Hist. of American Manufactures, 3 vols.; Bates' Hist. of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 5 vols.; Memoir of J. Q. Adams, 3 vols.; Thomas' Dict. of Biography; Eliot's History of Liberty, 2 vols.; and Barton's Flora of North America, 3 vols. quarto.

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Cincinnati Gazette, 1844-47.....	1 vol., folio.
Albany Cultivator, 1846.....	1 vol., quarto.
Mass. Charitable Assn. Intelligencer, 1847.....	1 vol., folio.
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Moore's Rural New Yorker, 1870.....	1 vol., quarto.
Christian Secretary, 1870-73.....	1 vol., folio.
Chicago Standard, 1872-73.....	1 vol., folio.
Woman's Journal, 1873.....	1 vol., quarto.
Nation, 1873.....	2 vol., quarto.
Rail Road Gazette, 1873.....	1 vol., quarto.
N. Y. Tribune, 1873-74.....	4 vol., folio.
N. Y. World, 1873-74.....	4 vol., folio.
Chicago Tribune, 1873-74.....	3 vol., folio.
Total.....	<u>144 vols.</u>

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2 vols.; Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, 4 vols.; and Nicholson's Architecture, 3 vols.

American History and Literature.—Bartlett's Hist. U. S., 3 vols. quarto; Anderson's Hist. of Church of England in the Colonies, 3 vols.; Natural Hist. of New York, 20 vols. quarto; Audubon's Birds of America, 7 vols., 8 vo., colored plates, 1840-44; Wilson's American Ornithology, 3 vols.; Madison's Letters & Writings, 4 vols.; Irving's Columbus, 3 vols.; Alexander Hamilton's Works, 3 vols.; Works of James Wilson, of Pa., 3 vols.; Margaret Fuller Ossoli's Works, 5 vols.; Lyman's Diplomacy of the U. S., 2 vols.; Allibone's Dict. of Authors, 2 vols.; Everett's Orations & Speeches, 4 vols.; U. S. Naval Observatory, 4 vols. quarto; Bishop's Hist. of American Manufactures, 3 vols.; Bates' Hist. of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 5 vols.; Memoir of J. Q. Adams, 3 vols.; Thomas' Dict. of Biography; Eliot's History of Liberty, 2 vols.; and Barton's Flora of North America, 3 vols. quarto.

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New Haven Palladium, 1839-56.....	13 vol., folio.
New York Tribune. 1841-42.....	1 vol., folio.
Southport, Wis., American, 1843-44.....	1 vol., folio.
Cherokee Messenger, 1844.....	1 vol., quarto.
Cincinnati Gazette, 1844-47.....	1 vol., folio.
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side in the shape of increased intelligence, skill, comfort, and virtue, which, in their turn, by an instantaneous reaction, multiply the numbers and facilitate the efforts of those who engage in the further investigation and discovery of truth."

THE NEEDS OF THE SOCIETY.

We need more shelf capacity for the proper distribution of our books, newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets; better facilities for serving the public, and for protecting the priceless treasures confided to our charge. We must naturally look to the State for these increased means of usefulness. In these times of short crops, low prices, and small rewards for labor, we do not wish to be thought unreasonable in the respectful presentation of our wants, and only ask that they may receive at the hands of the Legislature a just and proper consideration.

For several successive years we have shown a disposition to do something, independent of State aid, in the accomplishment of one of the many objects our Society has in view—the securing of an endowed Binding Fund of sufficient magnitude, that the annual income from it would meet the wants of the library. That Fund, as the figures show, has increased \$921.02 the past year, and now aggregates \$2,724.61. This sum falls far short of the needed endowment of ten thousand dollars.

We have recently sent out our appeal for contributions to this fund to a goodly number of friends of the Society, mostly in our own State. Some few have responded favorably, and others have intimated future aid. We earnestly hope those appeals may not go unheeded, nor these hopes and promises be suffered to pass into forgetfulness. Were our friends, who do not feel able at present to contribute to this meritorious object, to make us a pledge of a specified amount per year for five years, it would doubtless go far, in the aggregate, to make this greatly needed endowment a triumphant success.

Such gifts can never be lost; they will go on their mission of goodness forever. They will ennoble the giver, and serve to build up and perpetuate one of the most useful institutions our State possesses—accumulating and disseminating, as it does, wisdom and knowledge to all classes of society. It has justly been said: "No

truth can perish; no truth can pass away. The flame is undying, though generations disappear. Wherever moral truth has started into being, humanity claims and guards the bequest. Each generation gathers together the imperishable children of the past, and increases them by new sons of light, alike radiant with immortality."

Twenty-Second Report.

Submitted January 4, 1876.

The year 1875 has resulted in large and varied additions to the Library—the issuing of a Supplement to the Catalogue—and securing, we trust permanently, a remarkable collection of the Pre-Historic Antiquities of Wisconsin. The details of these evidences of continued prosperity serve to attest the healthful growth of the Society in all its departments of collection.

FINANCIAL CONDITION—BINDING FUND.

The Treasurer's report gives the receipts of the year into the General Fund as \$3,535.74; and the expenditures, \$3,533.87, showing a balance of \$1.87.

The Binding Fund—one of the greatest needs of the Society—was last year reported at \$2,724.61. During the year donations to this Fund have been received from Hon. Alexander Mitchell, \$250; Hon. C. C. Washburn, \$100; Samuel Marshall, Gen. J. J. Guppy, Gen. James Sutherland, Hon. M. H. Carpenter, and Hon. Andrew Proudfit, fifty dollars each; Rev. Dr. R. M. Hodges, a renewal of his annual contribution of \$20; Hon. G. W. Bradford, \$10 on a pledge of \$50; duplicate books sold, \$448.87; accrued interest, \$232.95; annual dues from members, net \$32;—thus showing an addition of \$1,343.82—making the total present amount of this Fund, \$4,068.43.

Grateful for the liberal contributions of the past, we renew our appeals to the friends of the Society to continue their efforts in behalf of this Fund until it reaches the sum of at least ten thousand dollars, when the annual income therefrom will perpetually enable the Society to secure the binding of hundreds of volumes of books, manuscripts, newspaper files, reviews, magazines, and pam-

phlets, constituting a most valuable portion of our collection, which are now necessarily neglected, and hence rendered comparatively unavailable for the important references for which they are constantly in demand.

The late Hon. John Catlin, who so thoughtfully gave the incipient donation for our Binding Fund, had intimated his further intention of bestowing, for the same object, the proceeds of a section of land on the western borders of Texas, so soon as it should be marketable; and his worthy relict, Mrs. Catlin, writes that she designs to carry into effect her late husband's intention. From this source, so soon as the Mexican and Indian raids in that quarter can be effectually suppressed, a very creditable addition to this Fund may be reasonably expected.

LIBRARY ADDITIONS.

The additions to the Library number 2,851 volumes, of which 1,494 were purchased, and 1,357 were secured by donation and exchanges, and 1,764 pamphlets, only 10 of which were by purchase—making the total book and pamphlet additions 4,615. Of the book additions, 165 are folios, and 153 quartos—increasing the number of folios in the Library to 2,214, and the quartos to 2,858, and both together, 5,072.

PROGRESSIVE LIBRARY INCREASE.

The past and present condition of the Library is shown in the following table.

Date.	Volumes added.	Documents and pamphlets.	Both together.	Total in Library.
1854, Jan. 1.....	50	.....	50	50
1855, Jan. 2.....	1,000	1,000	2,000	2,050
1856, Jan. 1.....	1,065	2,000	3,065	3,715
1857, Jan. 6.....	1,005	300	1,305	6,420
1858, Jan. 1.....	1,024	959	1,983	8,403
1859, Jan. 4.....	1,107	500	1,607	10,010
1860, Jan. 3.....	1,800	723	2,523	12,533
1861, Jan. 2.....	837	1,134	1,971	14,504
1862, Jan. 2.....	610	711	1,321	15,825
1863, Jan. 2.....	544	2,373	2,917	18,742
1864, Jan. 2.....	248	356	604	19,346
1865, Jan. 3.....	520	226	746	20,092
1866, Jan. 2.....	368	806	1,174	21,266
1867, Jan. 3.....	923	2,811	3,734	25,000
1868, Jan. 4.....	5,462	1,043	6,505	31,505
1869, Jan. 1.....	2,838	682	3,520	35,025
1870, Jan. 4.....	923	6,240	7,163	42,188
1871, Jan. 3.....	1,970	1,372	3,342	45,530
1872, Jan. 2.....	1,211	3,789	5,000	50,530
1873, Jan. 2.....	2,166	1,528	3,694	54,224
1874, Jan. 2.....	1,852	1,178	3,030	57,254
1875, Jan. 2.....	1,945	1,186	3,131	60,385
1876, Jan. 4.....	2,851	1,764	4,615	65,000
Total.....	32,319	32,681	65,000	.....

PRINCIPAL BOOK ADDITIONS.

English and Continental History and Literature.—Lingard's Eng-land, 10 vols.; Macaulay's England, 5 vols.; Henry's Hist. Great Britain, 12 vols.; Annals of Ireland, 7 vols., quarto; Hallam's Con-stitutional History, and Middle Ages, 6 vols.; Rapin's England, 28 vols.; Camden's Britannia, 4 vols., folio; Camden Society Publica-tions, 5 vols.; Harlean Miscellany, 12 vols; McCulloch's British Empire, 2 vols.; England's Battles, 3 vols. folio; Martial and Naval Achievements of England, 2 vols. quarto; Walpole's Letters. 10 vols.; Jesse's George III., 3 vols.; Gall's Diary of Life and Times of George IV., 4 vols.; British Patent Reports, 281 vols.—making

the present total, 3,410; Sam. Johnson's Works, 12 vols.; Ben. Jonson's Works, 1 vol. folio; Tillotson's Works, 3 vols. folio; Temple's Works, 2 vols. folio; Dryden's Comedies, &c., 2 vols. folio; Burnet's History of his own Times, 2 vols. folio; Sidney's Arcadia, 1 vol. folio; Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, 5 vols.; Hume's Essays, 2 vols.; Berkeley's Works, 3 vols.; Ruskin's Works, 8 vols.; Hooker's Works, 3 vols.; Jay's Works, 3 vols.; Sir Wm. Jones' Works, 9 vols. quarto; British Essayists, 3 vols.; Dugald Stewart's Works, 7 vols.; Mills' Hist of British India, 6 vols.; United Service Institution Journal, 14 vols.; Lives of the Princesses of England, 6 vols.; Percy Ballads and Romances, 3 vols.; Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, 4 vols.; Bohn's Standard Libraries, 244 vols.; Gifford's Wars of the French Revolution, 2 vols. quarto; Lamartine's Girondists, 3 vols.; Thiers' French Revolution and Consulate, 7 vols.; Tyndell's War with Russia, 3 vols. quarto; Alison's Europe, 4 vols.; Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe, 4 vols.; Whitson's Josephus, 4 vols.; Rawlinson's Herodotus, 4 vols.; Michaud's Crusaders, 3 vols.; Bunsen's Egypt's Place in History, 5 vols.; Bunsen's God in History, 3 vols.; Mitford's Greece, 8 vols.; Merivale's Romans, &c., 7 vols.; Liddell's Rome, 2 vols.; Niebuhr's Rome, 3 vols.; Niebuhr's Ancient History, 3 vols.; Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 6 vols.; Ruskin's Modern Painters, 5 vols.; Guizot's History of Civilization, 3 vols.; Letters on the Atlantis of Plato, 2 vols.; Servantes, Don Quixote, 4 vols.; and Kerr's Voyages and Travels, 18 vols.

Works on Antiquities, Science, &c.—Lardner's Cyclopedia, 31 vols.; Lardner's Museum of Science, &c., 12 vols.; Lardner's Works, 4 vols.; Ancient Symbol Worship; Inman's Ancient Faiths, 2 vols.; The Masculine Cross and Ancient Sex Worship; Pritchard's Natural History of Man, 2 vols.; Pickering's Races of Men; Monboddo's Origin and Progress of Language, 6 vols.; Nott's Lectures on the Physical Condition of Man; Grammar & Dictionary of the Gros Ventres Indians, 1 vol., quarto; Wilde's Circle of the Sciences, 4 vols.; Transactions of the Royal Society, 8 vols.; Philadelphia Academy of Science, 8 vols.; Boston Society of Natural History, 7 vols.; Ducarge's Glossarium, 6 vols. quarto; Hume's Philosophical Works, 4 vols.; Metcalf's Terrestrial Magnetism; Humboldt's Cosmos, 4 vols.; Hugh Miller's Works, 6 vols.; Cousin's Modern Philosophy,

2 vols.; Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, 4 vols.; and Nicholson's Architecture, 3 vols.

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To the Map and Atlas department have been added, an atlas of Rock county, Wis., 1873, quarto, from the supervisors of that county; a sectional map of Wisconsin, 1875, and a map of Milwaukee, from Silas Chapman; an early colonial map of Virginia and Maryland, no date, purchased.

Several volumes of unbound newspapers, mostly of Virginia, 1872-75, have been received from Th's H. Ellis, Esq., and the Am. Railroad Journal, 1852-61, incomplete, from Hon. M. M. Strong.

To summarize the Library additions: Bound newspaper files, 144 vols.; reviews and magazines, 383; foreign history, biography, travels, &c., 536; American general history, biography, travels, and politics, 193; American local history, 71; Indians, 7; Revolutionary war, 7; War of 1812, 2; Civil war, 52; Genealogy, 27; Antiquities and Archæology, 6; Historical and learned Societies, 17; Bibliography, 20; Philology, 11; Canada and British Provinces, 6; British and American Patent Reports, 295; Agriculture and Horticulture, 44; Congressional publications, 111; Wisconsin State Documents, 6; Documents of other States, 188; American and English literature, 147; Metaphysics and Science, 251; Education, 32; Religion, 88; Medicine 12; Classics, 27; Masonry, 7; Poetry, 16; Fine Arts, 34; Directories, 23; Encyclopedias, 3; works in German Language. 43; Miscellaneous, 42—total 2,851.

DONORS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

State of Wisconsin, mostly by transfer from State Library, 694 vols. and 303 pamphlets, besides many duplicates reserved for sale and exchange; British Patent Office, 281 vols.; W. P. Garrison, 12 vols. and 412 pamphlets; Interior Department, Washington, 75 vols.; Dr. S. A. Green, 3 vols, and 124 pamphlets; Boston Public Library, 44 vols.; State of Iowa, by Secretary of State, 41 vols.; Hon. G. W. Bradford, 34 vols. and 66 pamphlets; G. A. Harney, 16 vols.; Rev. Dr. W. S. Perry, 14 vols. and 26 pamphlets; Silas Chapman, 16 vols.: Hon. Alexander Mitchell, 11 vols.; Hon. T. O. Howe, 7 vols. and 60 pamphlets; U. S. Patent Office, 13 vols.; State of Vermont, 9 vols.; Gen. W. H. H. Terrill, 8 vols. and 17 pamphlets; Prof. W. F. Allen, 5 vols. and 19 pamphlets; Thomas H. Ellis, 4 vols. and 23 pamphlets; Prof. W. W. Daniels, 4 vols.; Gen. S. Cadwallader, 2 vols. donated, together with 43 vols. of bound newspapers files and Congressional Globes on deposit; Hon. John Eaton,

2 vols. and 3 pamphlets; L. C. Draper, 1 vol. and 17 pamphlets; Columbia College, 1. vol. and 11 pamphlets; G. P. Rowell, 5 vols.; Hon. C. Delano, Prof. E. T. Cox, Maj. H. A. Tenney, E. Y. Moore, and Mrs. Celina Newton, 2 vols. each: Dr. J. M. Toner, 1 vol. and 14 pamphlets; S. C. Gould, 1 vol. and 4 pamphlets; J. Wingate Thornton, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; Centennial Commission, 1 vol. and 6 pamphlets; Massachusetts Historical Society, 1 vol. and 2 pamphlets; D. S. Durrie, 2 vols. and 18 pamphlets; Robert Clarke, 1 vol. and 1 pamphlet; one vol. each from the American Antiquarian Society, Auditor of Ohio, Alfred Andrews, Byron Andrews, P. T. Barnum, S. G. Benedict, Matthew Bird, J. C. Brevoort, Thos. S. Clarkson, Coast Survey Bureau, Congress Library, B. B. Cutter, Rev. J. E. Davis, F. K. Field, G. H. Foster, James W. Gerard, H. A. Homes, Hon. C. Hudson, Gen. A. A. Humphrey, Francis Jackson, H. G. Jones, Hon. E. W. Leavenworth, Hon. J. B. Linn, Massachusetts Board of Education, D. McFarland, Minnesota Board of Agriculture, Rev. Silas McKeen, Ada J. Moore, N. E. Historic Genealogical Society, Hon. J. G. Palfrey, Mrs. E. D. Pardee, R. Prinderville, Pryor & Co., J. W. Powell, Miss. E. S. Quincy, Thos. E. Randall, Supervisors of Rock County, Smithsonian Institution, Hon. D. Wells, W. Wis. Railroad Commissioners, Rev. R. J. Wright, and 2 by exchange.

Pamphlets.—Hon. Stephen Taylor, 136; Rev. J. Wilkinson, 46; Hon. L. B. Vilas, 43; Rhode Island Historical Society 41; Dr. T. A. Cheney, 18; Joel Munsell, 16; President Bascom, 16; Maj. J. O. Culver, 15; Gen. Simeon Mills, 13; purchased 11; newspaper and magazine articles pasted on commercial note paper into pamphlets, 134; Col. G. W. Bird, 10; Prof. A. Kerr, 10; I. S. Bradley, 9; Prof. R. B. Anderson, 9; St. Louis Board of Trade, 8; Jos. Sabin & Sons, 8; R. A. Brock, 8; Col. S. V. Shipman, 7; W. H. Payne, 6; President Wm. McCauley, 4; Rev. S. Reynolds, 4; Prof. E. W. Charlton, 3; B. W. Bowen, 3; I. A. Lapham, 3; Prof. R. Irving, 3; Hon. W. W. Field, 3; S. L. Boardman, E. M. Barton, Rev. E. M. Stone, P. W. French, Geo. J. Harvey, Rev. R. J. Wright, W. Gould, and Yale College, 2 each; and one each from Andover Theological Seminary, Astor Library, C. C. Baldwin, Hon. S. L. M. Barlow, Miss R. L. Bodley, Brooklyn Mercantile Library, Dr. J. R. Chadwick, Chicago Public Library, Hon. T. W. Field, Bela Hubbard, Harvard College, Hon. G. W. Hazleton, H. H. Hurlbut.

C. R. Holden, D. Holt, Wm. Hempstead, G. B. Howell, A. H. Hoyt, Rev. Dr. E. O. Haven, Licking Co., Ohio, Pioneer Association, Massachusetts General Hospital, Missouri Historical Society, Missouri University, Ohio Historical Society, Com. G. H. Preble, E. Pardee, Peabody Institute, S. A. Phoenix, Mrs. S. Reed, San Francisco Mercantile Library, Hon. Horatio Seymour, A. C. Smith, Mrs. Harriet Tenney, and Western Reserve Historical Society.

ART GALLERY.

The only oil painting added to the Art Gallery during the year is that of Horatio Ward, an American banker in London, who April 27, 1867, bequeathed to the Wisconsin Soldiers' Orphans' Home, and among similar institutions, \$23,554.97; painted in 1873, by James R. Stuart, and presented by the Trustees of the Orphans' Home, April 15, 1875, when the property was transferred to the State University. The total number of oil paintings now in the Gallery is 99.

PRE-HISTORIC ANTIQUITIES OF WISCONSIN.

Our Society has been singularly fortunate in having placed in its custody, and, on certain conditions, securing the ultimate ownership, of one of the largest and most valuable collections of pre-historic antiquities ever made in this country, or perhaps any other. It is worthy of record, as well as of interest, to note the facts which led to its collection, and to indicate its character and importance.

Frederick S. Perkins, of Burlington, Racine county, Wisconsin, the indefatigable collector of this remarkable collection, was born at Trenton Falls, Oneida county, N. Y., Dec. 6, 1832. His father, Origen Perkins, removed first to Joliet, Illinois, in Nov., 1835, and in August, 1836, made his advent to what is now Burlington, where he found only two small log buildings—one occupied as a tavern, the other as a store. He made a claim; and, in November ensuing, erected the first private dwelling in the town, and removed his family there in March, 1837. Here his son Frederick grew up enjoying only common school advantages, and working on the farm, till Nov., 1852, when he went to New York city with no definite purpose. Possessing a taste for drawing, and visiting the Dusseldorf Gallery, he became enthused with the desire to be an artist, and with the advice of A. B. Durand, President of the National Acad-

emy of Design, he entered the studio of Jasper F. Cropsey, with whom he studied assiduously two years, when he entered upon his profession in that city with good prospects of success—sometimes taking jaunts into the neighboring States.

While in the region of Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, in 1857, Mr. Perkins became interested in the stone antiquities found in that section, and made quite a collection. In 1862, he opened his studio in Milwaukee; but returning to Burlington in 1864, and becoming connected in marriage with Miss Emily Wainright, he abandoned his profession for the time being, and settled down on the farm which his father had located in 1836; and then it was, he fairly commenced his collection of the pre-historic antiquities of Wisconsin—confined exclusively till 1871, to implements of the stone age. A single large copper spear-head, found three miles north of Burlington, in October of that year, so excited his interest, that he thenceforth made a speciality of seeking specimens of the copper age, not, however, neglecting to secure all good articles of the stone period.

He now began to systematize his mode of collection. He would spend many weeks at a time on a tour of thorough canvassing—taking a county, and going carefully through it by townships and sections, missing scarcely a house. He would make his inquiries, responding kindly to questions of curiosity, obtaining what specimens he could, paying for them when pay was demanded; and, not unfrequently, hearing of some fine specimen of the copper age that had been sold to some peddler for old copper, or cut up or melted for some trifling purpose. He would leave his card, so should other articles of interest be found, his name and address might be known; and being a ready and apt draughtsman, he would generally mark on his card the shape of a spear or arrow head, or some other antiquarian device, the better to keep his wishes in remembrance; and this he would particularly observe when at the residence of Germans and Norwegians. Thus, in all weather, with the thermometer sometimes as low as fifteen or twenty degrees below zero, or during the extreme heats of summer, would he push forward his journeyings with varied success.

In this manner were the counties of Racine, Kenosha, Walworth, Waukesha, Milwaukee, Jefferson, Dodge, Washington, Ozaukee, Fond du Lac and Sheboygan, and portions of Rock, Dane and La

Fayette, explored; not unfrequently sojourning for the night in a barn, hut or hovel, and sometimes suffering from a run-away of his horse, and encountering other perils and adventures.

Some days he would scarcely find one single stone arrow-head to reward his toils and efforts, and get discouraged; when the next day, perhaps, in some unpromising neighborhood, he would find the most interesting specimens both of stone and copper. These repeated journeys and explorations cost Mr. Perkins much time and expense; at a time, too, when he was necessitated to effect loans for improving his farm. But so fixed was his determination to make a unique and valuable collection, with the ultimate design of it becoming the property of the State in which he had spent the most of his life, that he practiced every self-denial in order to continue these collections; in which Mrs. Perkins, sympathising heartily with his tastes and purposes, would freely encourage her husband, even at the expense of personal and family comforts. All honor to such unselfish devotees for the benefit of science, and the extension of human knowledge!

The collections thus made consists of 600 stone rollers, pestles, knives, scrapers, awls, pikes, and anomalous forms; 365 stone axes of various forms and sizes; about 50 stone pipes and perforated ornaments; nearly 8,000 spear, lance and arrow-heads: and of copper articles, 68 spear or dirk-heads; with sockets for shafts; 5 notched for shafts, like flint arrow-heads; 9 with sound shanks to be inserted into shafts; 15 with flat shanks; 10 knives; 15 chisels or axes; 3 socket-axes, knives or adzes; 5 augers; 2 gads, 1 drill, and 9 of anomalous forms—numbering altogether over 9,000 articles of the pre-historic age. Nearly all are in the finest condition, and all were found in Wisconsin. All of the rarer articles are labelled with the names of their finders; and a record is preserved of the localities and circumstances of their discovery. The majority of them were turned up by the plow; but some were found as deep as ten or twelve feet below the surface—sometimes embedded in clay below the gravel.

The stone collection is simply wonderful, while the copper one is confessedly unequalled in the country. The copper districts of Lake Superior, which disclose so many evidences of ancient mining, doubtless furnished most of the material for the manufacture of these interesting implements of a former age; and it is not strange

that our own State should furnish the richest field for this rarest class of pre-historic remains. Prof. Charles Rau, in his valuable paper, in the Smithsonian Report for 1872, on the Ancient Aboriginal Trade of North America, justly remarks that "the copper articles left by the former inhabitants are by no means abundant;" adding, as an example, that during his thirteen years sojourn in the neighborhood of St. Louis, a region particularly rich in tumular structures, he did not succeed in obtaining a single specimen belonging to this class.

The American Antiquarian Society, during its sixty-three years' existence, has only obtained some half a dozen specimens of ancient copper implements, and less than 300 of stone; the Smithsonian Institution, it is understood, has accumulated 17 copper specimens, and has made casts of several of the Perkins' collection; the late Dr. Lapham, as the result of nearly forty years' efforts, secured only 11 copper articles, for some of which he was indebted to Mr. Perkins, and 165 stone implements; the German Natural History Society of Milwaukee has collected 10 copper specimens, and 91 of stone; Dr. Day, of Wauwatosa, 1 of copper, and 163 of stone; Beloit College, 1 of copper, and 53 of stone; and Col. C. C. Jones, formerly of Georgia, has six copper implements, described in his work on the antiquities of that State. And our own Society, after nearly a quarter of a century's efforts, has secured only 13 copper specimens, 39 stone axes, and a variety of spear and arrow-heads, and other stone implements.

When the late J. W. Foster, LL. D., of Chicago, published in 1874, his work on the Pre-Historic Races of America, in which he acknowledged his frequent indebtedness to Mr. Perkins' archæological collections, and especially his collection of copper implements, it very naturally led several learned institutions to make inquiries whether he would be willing to dispose of them. Our late lamented associate, Dr. Lapham, the able antiquary and scientist, spent three days in a careful examination of Mr. Perkins' collection, expressing his astonishment at its extent and character—so infinitely in advance of his own, which he had been nearly four times as long in gathering.

Under such circumstances, it is a matter of no small felicitation that our Society has secured a collection so important for the illustration of the pre-historic period of Wisconsin, and which proba-

bly stands unrivalled by any similar collection in the country. Future generations will commend the foresight and persistence of Mr. Perkins in making it, and the wisdom of this Society in securing this priceless treasure. Let this richest acquisition of our Society serve to stimulate its officers and members, and the people of Wisconsin, to renewed efforts for the augmentation of this department of our collections, that it shall worthily attract the attention of the antiquaries of the civilized world.

OTHER ADDITIONS TO THE CABINET.

Antiquities.—A stone spear, about 12 inches long, and some 5 wide, found in an ancient Indian grave at Butte des Morts, Winnebago county, from S. D. Carpenter; a large sized stone ax found on the farm of Alf. Merrill, Esq., in the town of Madison, about eight inches below the surface of the soil; an arrow-head from the Big Springs, Wisconsin, from E. W. Marshall.

Currency, etc.—A \$50 Continental bill, dated Sept. 26, 1778; and a \$3 Continental bill, dated Feb. 17, 1776, paid to John Ormsby, of Vermont, for Revolutionary services, preserved and presented by his decendants; impression of a \$1000 six per cent. Wisconsin war bond, payable in 1888, from Miss Henshaw; a counterfeit \$50 Confederate bill, dated April 6, 1863, from Robert Remington, Wau-paca.

Manuscripts.—MS. notes of a trip to Europe in 1845, by Dr. Richard Lemon, from David Holt.

Natural History Specimens.—A cone of sugar pine tree, very large size, from the Nevada Mountains, Mariposa county, 50 miles southwest of Yo Semite Valley, from Mrs. Daniel Jackson, Evansville; head of a Rocky Mountain sheep, with large, heavy horns, from James M. Stoner, Colorado; a large elaborately carved box-wood spoon, from Rev. D. Jacobson; piece of perforated wood, from Puget's Sound, showing curious effects of insects, from W. H. H. Beadle, Yankton; a section of petrified wood, about 12 inches long by 3 wide, from the block coal mines of Indiana, from E. D. Darwin; a specimen of tin ore, and also of silver ore, from Cambray, Cornwall, England, from Richard Nichols, Darlington; a collection of mineral from the Hot Springs, Arkansas, from Wm. Wendsom, Jr.; stalactites and other formations from the cave in the town of Verona, from Mrs. D. Richardson; an ocean periwinkle, from John

E. Findlay; abbalony shell, from the Pacific coast, and red-wood bark from California; fine specimen of mineral from the Alameda quicksilver mine, Santa Clara Co., California; formations from mineral springs of California, pebbles from the Pacific coast, and moss and laurel wood, from California, garnets, pebbles, and pottery from the Navajo country, presented by Mrs. John Leigh, Oconto; specimen of lead ore, from Dodge Co., Wis., from Irving Dean; geode from Keokuk, Iowa, with crystals of quartz, a fine specimen, also a smaller one, from M. R. Pagett, Fort Atkinson; two specimens of variegated sandstone, from Mrs. E. L. Burnett, Faribault, Minn.; a small piece of stone, reputed to be silver mineral, found at Lynn, Mass., from J. T. Moulton; two sheets of flowers, from California, from Mr. Albee; a small petrified frog taken from a boulder of sand rock, eight feet below the surface, in digging a cellar for Peter Young, Madison; two bottles of water, one from the Dead Sea, the other from the river Jordan, from Dr. C. B. Chapman.

Photographs.—A large photographic group of early settlers of Milwaukee, neatly framed and glazed, presented by the Old Settlers' Club of that city; photograph of N. Goodell, an early Wisconsin pioneer, framed, from Mr. Goodell.

Relics.—A pewter platter, twenty inches in diameter, brought from Wales by B. Richardson; it has been an heirloom in the family since 1700; presented by Hon. Dustin Grow, one of the descendants, of Clinton, Wis., per Hon. D. G. Cheever; a pewter platter, part of the marriage portion of the bride, Eunice Marshall when married to Capt. Samuel Enos, in Dec. 1735, at Windsor, Conn.—presented by her great grand-daughter, Mrs. E. D. Pardee, Madison; a bronze medal in commemoration of the battle of Lexington, from Rev. E. G. Porter, Lexington; a common wooden chair, formerly the property of President Fillmore, one of a set with which he commenced house-keeping about 1826, presented by B. W. Bowen, Austin, Ill.; a pine shingle from the roof of a barn, in Barre, Vt., in use from 1796 to 1873, from J. T. Dodge; a bow, from the Navajo country, from Geo. H. Pradt, New Mexico; a military commission of Justin Jacobs as ensign, signed by a Gov. Martin Chittenden, of Vt., June 8, 1814, from Hon. A. Cameron; a small cannon made at Mobile, in October 1861, from a rebel rifle barrel, by R. F. Hastrieter, also some bullets from Mr. Hastrieter; a copy of the Vicksburg Daily Citizen, July 2, 1863, printed on

wall paper, from Henry Joy; official plan and drawings of Camp Randall, Madison, from N. B. Van Slyke.

Miscellaneous.—A railroad alarm signal; two sheets of what is termed church bread, from Norway, from John E. Findlay; also report of the San Francisco stock board, showing prices of mining shares, April 1, 1875, from C. B. Turner, of San Francisco; a specimen of bread made by the Pueblo Indians, from Geo. H. Pradt; a Japanese wooden tooth comb, from Henry Ash; a piece of the first piece of cotton cloth manufactured in Wisconsin, made by the Janesville Manufacturing Company, neatly framed and glazed, from the Company per Hon. James Sutherland.

Mr. Isaac Lyon, at the venerable age of eighty-one, has, for another year, given his undivided attention to the care of the cabinet, and its exhibition to visitors and strangers—always eliciting the warmest expressions for his kindness from those who visit that interesting department.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS.

The following historical papers have been received during the year, and filed for future publication, or binding:

1. Proceedings of the Legislative Council that met at Green Bay, Jan. 1, 1836—copied from the Galena Advertiser; and never published in separate form. A most important Territorial document.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Col. Wm. B. Slaughter, a member of this Green Bay Legislature of forty years ago, who prepared the able memorial of that body to Congress, asking for the separate organization of Wisconsin Territory, is present with us on this occasion.

2. On Indian Revenge, by the late Hon. Henry S. Baird.

3. Memoir of Robert Irwin Jr., a prominent Green Bay pioneer of 1817, who died at Fort Winnebago, July 9, 1833, by Gen. A. G. Ellis.

4. Sketch of Shaubena, a noted Pottawattomie chief, who served under Tecumseh, by N. Matson, Princeton, Ill.

5. A frontier incident, near Fort Winnebago, in May, 1839, copied from the National Intelligencer.

6. Scraps of early Wisconsin History, by Hon. Stephen Taylor.

7. Early Explorations in the Lemonweir Valley, and early occupation and settlement of Juneau county, by Hon. John T. Kingston.

8. Reminiscences related at the re-union of the old settlers of La Fayette county, Wis., in Jan., 1874.

9. Narrative of Early Times in Wisconsin, by Mrs. S. J. Yorker, Arena.

10. Thirteen original statements and documents relating to Har-mar's campaign against the North Western Indians in 1790, used in a Court of Inquiry at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, in September, 1791, found among the papers of Lieut. and Adjutant Winslow Warren, who lost his life at St. Clair's defeat in Nov., 1791—presented by his kinsman, Winslow Warren, Esq., of Boston, through Hon. S. U. Pinney.

11. An elaborate and carefully prepared Memoir, in the French language, of Sieur Charles De Langlade, the pioneer settler of Wisconsin, about one hundred and thirty years ago, largely from original documents in the Canadian archives, and other sources, by Hon. Joseph Tasse, member of the Canadian Parliament. Mrs. Sarah Fairchild Dean, of our city, has most obligingly consented to make a translation for our Society.

From these and former contributions, the Society will be enabled to select suitable matter for the seventh volume of Collections, designed to be issued during the current year.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR EXCHANGES.

One hundred copies of transactions of the State Agricultural Society; 50 copies each of the Senate and Assembly Journals, the Laws of Wisconsin, and Message and Documents, 1875; 25 copies of Transactions of State Horticultural Society; 24 copies of Legislative Manual, all from State of Wisconsin; 25 copies of Madison Board of Education Report for 1874, from Prof. Shaw; 25 copies of the 18th Wisconsin Editorial Association Proceedings, 1875, from Hon. James Ross, Secretary; 12 copies of Judge C. E. Dyer's Address before the Old Settlers' Club of Racine County, in 1871, from J. A. Carswell; Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, 1852-59, 8 vols.; Madison Enquirer, 1838-43, 2 vols.; Madison Democrat, 1842-44, 1 vol.; Madison Argus, 1845-51, 3 vols., from Hon. M. M. Strong; 6 copies of Rev. S. Peet's History of the Churches of Wisconsin,

from Miss M. Peet; 6 copies of Wisconsin Emigration Report, 1873, from O. C. Johnson; 40 copies of Resources of Lower Fox River Valley, from A. J. Read; 4 copies of Willard & Guernsey's History and Agriculture of Rock County, Wisconsin, from O. A. Willard; and 4 copies of Carpenter's Logic of History, from S. D. Carpenter.

LIBRARY CATALOGUE.

In 1873, the first published Catalogue of the Library was printed, in two volumes of 639 and 719 pages respectively, enabling all investigators more readily to ascertain the strength of our collection on any given subject. The past year the First Supplement to the Catalogue of 383 pages has been issued, which reflects credit upon Mr. Durrie, the Librarian, and Miss Durrie his Assistant; and includes all the additions received to Aug. 1, 1875. Such facilities, with the ready and intelligent attention of the Librarian, and his Assistants, Miss Durrie and Mr. Bradley, furnish to visitors all that could be desired.

LIBRARY IMPROVEMENTS.

In accordance with the directions of the last Legislature, additional shelving has been provided in the East and West Rooms of the Library, furnishing increased capacity for book accommodations for several years. Some special provision for the safety and display of the rich Perkin's collection of Wisconsin antiquities will be required—a want so moderate and so reasonable that it will be a pleasure to provide for it.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

The Society, during the past year, has lost two of its earliest and most devoted friends—Henry S. Baird and Increase A. Lapham. Mr. Baird settled at Green Bay in 1824, and proved himself one of the most distinguished of our early public men; and especially ready, as our published Collections sufficiently attest, to note down his valuable recollections of his past half century's knowledge of Wisconsin history. Dr. Lapham was suddenly snatched from us and from his many useful labors. Settling in Wisconsin in 1836, he has, in many ways, contributed largely to make known its resources, and add to the sum of human knowledge. His ten years'

Presidency of this Society, and Mr. Baird's still longer term of service as one of its Vice-Presidents, very naturally suggest the propriety of special papers devoted to a faithful portraiture of the lives and services of these eminent citizens of Wisconsin, and for more than a quarter of a century, intimately associated with this institution.

THE USES AND NEEDS OF THE SOCIETY.

That the Society is doing good service in many directions, is conceded by all. It is gathering up evidences and facts of the antiquity and history of the State, more thoroughly, it is believed, than at least any other portion of the Great West. Its book collections are serving practically as the State Library; and to this end, as well as for historical purposes, the Society is collecting files of nearly all the newspaper publications of the State, filled, as they are, with legal notices which it is important to preserve for possible evidence in our higher courts of judicature; and preserving, too, all documents, from every part of the country, bearing upon topics of legislation and humane institutions. It, moreover, serves as a valuable and most useful adjunct to the State University—giving it library facilities for reference, such as but few of the higher institutions of learning of this country enjoy.

While all this is true and gratifying, truth extorts the confession that scarcely a day passes, and frequently many times a day, when works are inquired for by earnest investigators in this progressive age, of which our Library is deficient. Our means are too limited to accomplish but a moiety of what we desire, and what would be largely beneficial to our State and people. We may justly challenge a comparison with the most successful Historical Societies and State Libraries of the country for a similar example of Library increase, and where the character of that increase will bear the closest scrutiny.

Under such circumstances, and with such pressing necessities, we respectively ask of the Legislature an increase of \$1,500 to the annual appropriation to the Society.

Pre-Historic Wisconsin.

BY PROF. JAMES D. BUTLER, LL. D.

Annual Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in the Assembly Chamber, February 18, 1876.

My theme—namely Pre-historic Wisconsin—as most people think, is no theme at all. They compare it to a picture of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea, which was all one dead wall or barn-door of Spanish brown. When the painter was asked, “where are the children of Israel?” he answered, “they have all passed over,” and when the question was, “where are the hosts of Pharaoh?” “Why they,” said he, “they are all drowned.” All the people who could have given human interest to the painting had gone, either over, or under, like the pre-historic dwellers of Wisconsin.

As so many hold that my subject is nothing, or next to nothing, I am reminded of the clergyman who being asked to preach on a text handed to him in a sealed envelope after he had stood up in the pulpit, found nothing inclosed but blank paper. Holding up the sheet, however, and turning it over, he said, “Here is nothing, and, there is nothing,—but out of nothing God made the world, and therefore the subject of my discourse shall be the creation.” That I can make as much of my nothingarian theme is far beyond my hopes.

It was long my creed that there were no Western antiquities in existence. If any mounds in the Mississippi valley were proved artificial I would have held with Noah Webster that they had been thrown up by De Soto on his way to the Mississippi, a theory which I now think no more plausible than the pretence that all marine fossils in the Alps were dropped by pilgrims returning from Palestine.

It is no wonder the lexicographical Webster was sceptical regarding Western pre-historic remains, for he was ignorant of the very word, "pre-historic." That word first appeared in the dictionary of his rival, Worcester, and was cited from the North British Review, the first number of which was issued no longer ago than 1844—the year after Webster's death.

I long agreed with Bancroft, who taught the readers of his History that, "In all ancient walls at the West, geology sees only crumbs of decaying sandstone clinging like mortar to blocks of greenstone; in parallel entrenchments, it discovers only a trough that subsiding waters have plowed, it explains all tessellated pavements as layers of pebbles aptly joined by water, it esteems all mounds as natural cones, and ascribes them to that Power which shaped the globe." But this heresy I long ago recanted, and its author no doubt wishes it had never been broached, at least by his pen.

It is supposed by many that pre-historic studies are destitute of data, or materials to serve for a basis, and hence they are neglected or laughed at. Even *historic* studies concerning a State so young as Wisconsin seem thus destitute to Englishmen. They compare us to the little scholar who, as the big dunce said, might without book answer the question, who made him; because he had not been made more than a fortnight. But when visitors from the old world walk through our Historical Society's Halls in Madison, they behold more matter there accumulated relative to the annals of our infantile State, than any one man can ever read, yes more than most older States can show, and feel the value and needfulness of that Society.

In regard, however, to *pre-historic* periods, it was natural for men to be doubly sceptical concerning the possibility of raising them from the gulf of oblivion. Such eras were held either to have never existed, or to be dead beyond resurrection. Yet geology was long before confessed to be a book in which the pre-historic annals of nature—her plants, animals, mutations in form and climate, are written in an ever-lasting epistle known and read of all men. A similar volume, descriptive of animals now extinct, was discovered in palæontology.

Seeing that Nature wrote her autobiography thus legibly, it was

at length felt to be incredible that *man* had left his mark on nothing before he invented the alphabet.

The deciphering of Egyptian hieroglyphics by Champollion, after they had remained meaningless through more than one millenary, quickened hopes of tracing significant outlines of human life in eras still more primeval, or among races which had not invented any sort of writing.

Investigations were set on foot, and ere long witnesses came forth from beneath the stalagmitic pavement of caves in England, from the peat-bogs of France, from the lower lava strata of Santorin, from the hills of Troy, from the frozen marshes of Siberia, from the kitchen middens of Denmark, and from our own western mounds, uttering things which had been kept secret from the foundation of the world. Such witnesses are multiplying every day, and that from unexpected quarters, and with unexpected revelations

Pompeii—that city of the dead or of resurrection, where we know not whether to wonder most that it was so strangely destroyed, or so long concealed, or so fortunately discovered, or so successfully disinterred, or so miraculously preserved, is a witness if not quite pre-historic, yet *con*-historic, *extra*-historic, *super*-historic. Every year for more than a century, it has corrected, completed, illustrated historic testimonies, and it will for a century to come. The minutiae of ancient life which were the dust of dead men's bones it has transformed to the unity of breathing life. More and more will it create a soul under the ribs of death.

My first visit to Pompeii was three and thirty years ago. I then thought it a marvel altogether unique. In after years, however, I became acquainted with other similar lights regarding eras where written history is darkness. Instances are Velleia in northern Italy, a city buried and yet saved by an Alpine land-slide, as Pompeii was by Vesuvian ashes; the hill of Hissarlik, which opened by the spade of Schliemann has disclosed either Homeric Troy, or half a dozen other cities yet more mythical with myriads of their works; and various cities of Central America which Squier has shown, though they yield no written records, to abound in more antiques than any one volume can describe.

But no archaeological “find” was ever so astonishing as that of pre-historic villages by hundreds submerged and yet not destroyed beneath Swiss lakes,—as if Sodom were to be fished up from the

bitumen of the Dead Sea, or Jules Verne's 20,000 leagues under the sea to become an actual journey.

When Mark Antony would show his skill in fishing to Cleopatra, he hired divers to slyly fasten fish on his hook, and so seldom drew his line in vain. But seeing through his trick, that "serpent of old Nile" contrived to have a salt fish stuck on his hook by a diver of her own. The Roman's amazement, when he first pulled up a dried herring or cod, was not greater than that of antiquaries when they surveyed the relics of Swiss races unknown to history,—sunk in watery graves,—yet only to be all the better preserved.

Built on piles like Venice, and for the same reason, namely, security,—the wooden dwellings and their wooden contents were incorruptible when plunged beneath water. Fire even was also there preservative,—as when bread burned to charcoal retained its original form and texture, and would seem good enough to eat if not baked over-hard.

Accordingly, lacustrine curiosities are now as multitudinous in Swiss museums as Pompeian wonders are at Naples. In a single private cabinet, that of Colonel Schwab, the number of lake-findings is 4,346. These heirlooms were espied, as it were, in the haunts of Undines and Naiads.

"Through the dim beams that amid the streams
Weave a net-work of colored light,
Under the caves where the lakelet waves
Are green as the forest's night,
And under the bowers where the ocean powers
Sit on their pearled thrones."

I will allude to a single specimen of discoveries here made. Bones were numerous, but all split in such a way that the marrow could be best extracted. Behold a proof that dogs were eaten by pre-historic peoples. "Were those dogs wild or already domesticated?" was a question which soon perplexed explorers, but not long. It was directly observed that the skeletons of beeves all lacked certain essential bones, and that those same bones, and no others, were devoured by dogs, who, for the sake of experiment, were allowed to prey on bovine carcasses. It was plain, then, that pre-historic dogs had done likewise, and so must have been *tame*; otherwise they could have had no chance to try their teeth on skeletons in the water-girdled fastnesses among the Alps.

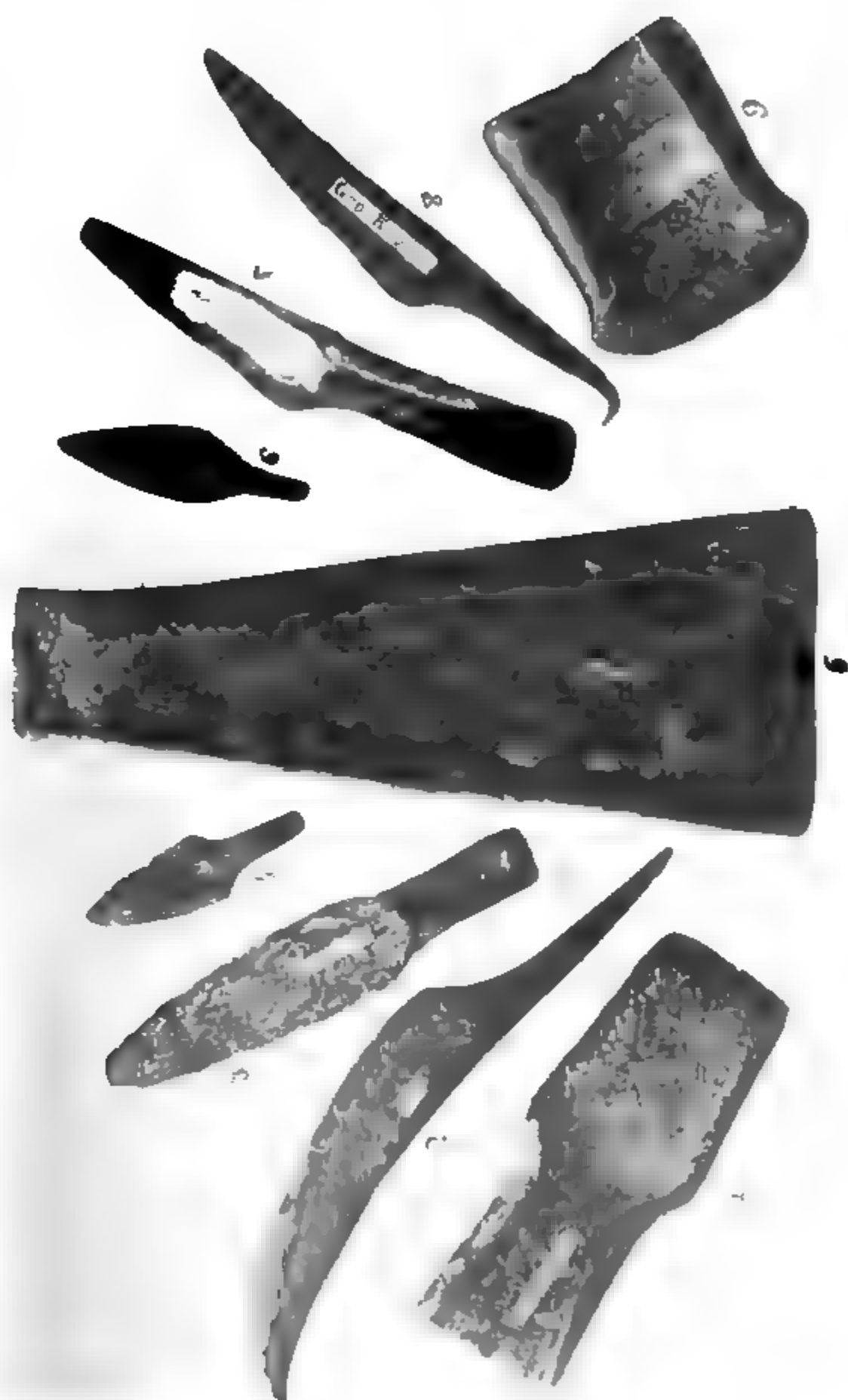
Pile-dwellings are not yet extinct. On the salt-water creeks running in from the coast of New Guinea they have just been discovered, still inhabited and lately built. Dr. Studer, a Swiss naturalist, there saw, in 1875, the whole manner of life in the lake-abodes of his native land still surviving. (London Acad., No. 215, p. 584.)

The hasty glance I have now taken at the ancient remains which have been elsewhere brought to light, is enough to authorize our expecting similar windfalls within our own borders. Nor have such expectations been disappointed. In all our States, men, without looking for them, have stumbled upon mementoes of a former race—perhaps of more than one race. Arms, tools, graves, houses, boats, ornaments, various in style, material, and era, are unmistakable, and too well known to this audience to need describing.

According to the last Report of the Secretary of the Interior, "the United States survey in 1875 explored pre-historic ruins in southern Colorado. They were traced down the canyons to the Colorado river in New Mexico. Hundreds of cave-dwellings of curious architecture and many miles from water, were found in the sides of the gorges, and the ruins of extensive towns were discovered in the adjacent plains, indicating the existence of a people far more numerous and advanced in the arts of civilization than their supposed descendants of the present day. A valuable collection of flint weapons, earthen-ware, and other specimens, was gathered." No evidence, however, was discovered that metals were used.

But what finds *within Wisconsin* can we boast of?

We have within the walls of the Capitol well-nigh nine thousand products of the stone-age—all brought together by the zeal, industry, and shrewdness of one man—and that from within less than one-fifth of the area of Wisconsin. These articles, in diversity, workmanship, and material surpass any collection which I have ever inspected. Their uses are in part plain, and in part, at present, beyond conjecture. They will not, it may be hoped, long remain so. They are all the records we have, or as some think, all we can hope for, concerning their eras, and are hence appropriately treasured by our State Historical Society. That association, having gathered a library with scarcely an equal west of the Alleghanies, (32,319 volumes, besides 32,681 documents and pamphlets,) and beyond comparison superior to all others in documents printed and written concerning Wisconsin, now aims to go further in the



same historic line—beyond printing, beyond writing, beyond tradition, into the dark backward,—to the mound-builders, or whatever other pre-Indian people have here in the rudiments of art written an alphabet which science is just now beginning to spell out.

When the sun sets, and no moon rises, we made the most of stars, not unthankful for a single star.

The Historical Society has had its energies turned into this new channel to a large extent by the researches and accumulations of Mr. F. S. Perkins, of Racine county, now one of its vice-presidents. Before his labors began, antiquities were daily turned up by the plow, or in digging wells, cellars, and railroad cuts. But they were either left where they were found or wantonly broken or scattered about as playthings of the nursery. He, first among us, gathered the fragments together by thousands till they filled so many baskets or boxes, that for a month the Historical Society was unable to prepare a place to receive them. Among these gatherings, "picked from the worm-holes of long vanished days, and from the dust of old oblivion raked," there are six hundred stone rollers, pestles, knives, scrapers, awls, pikes, and anomalous forms; three hundred and sixty-five stone axes, one weighing eight and a half pounds; about fifty stone pipes and perforated ornaments; and nearly eight thousand spear, lance and arrow-heads.

But our principal debt to Mr. Perkins is not for his contributions to our knowledge of the stone age,—great as they are—but it is rather for what he has done to reveal to us the age of *copper*. Here his efforts differ from those of others in kind—elsewhere only in degree. All the men I speak with have seen stone implements,—not one in a legion have seen those of copper. Our national museum, the Smithsonian Institution, contained only seven in 1870, and now numbers but thirty, in fact only a score of real tools. Fourteen only are found with the German Society of Natural History in Milwaukee. Eleven were all those in the hands of Dr. Lapham. Ten copper spear-heads were proclaimed in Boston by our State Geologist, Col. Whittlesey, to be all that were known to him nine years ago. Milton College has four articles of copper; Beloit, one; Lawrence University, none; the State University, none. At Houghton, in the very midst of Lake Superior mines, the Historical Society reports only four coppers. The Royal Academy in Dublin has thirty-five specimens, but all found in Europe

or Asia, and it is reputed the only treasure of its class in Europe, at least outside of Hungary. Of the private collectors who have been said to have many coppers, no one has been found to possess more than four, and most of them cannot boast of even one.

An Irish relic-keeper was showing an antique sword as the identical weapon which Balaam used to slay the ass which fell down under him, when he was reminded by a Bible-reader that Balaam had no sword, his words being, "I would there were a sword in my hand!" But the showman rejoined, "This sword of mine is the very one the prophet wished he had!" In like manner various hoards reputed to be rich in pre-historic coppers have turned out again and again on examination to contain only the coppers which their owners wished they had.

What have we?

We have copper arms enough to equip a tribe of warriors, namely one hundred and nine spears, knives, and tomahawks. Of the spears, seventy-two have sockets, sometimes called *wings*, to receive shafts; sixteen of these sockets are punched each with a hole, round, square, or oblong, for a pin to fasten the shaft, and one of the copper pins still sticks fast in its place. The sockets are ingeniously swaged and in various styles. Twenty-three of these spear-heads swell on one side like bayonets; the rest are flat. Three of them are marked with seven dints apiece, and one with nine, indentations which possibly show the number of beasts or men they have killed. Then we have nine spears with round tangs, and thirteen with flat ones, to thrust into shafts, six of the last with tangs notched like the necks of flint weapons. The Smithsonian has but seven spears; we have ninety-four. Most of our fifteen knives were intended to be stuck in handles, but one of them has a handle rolled out of the same piece of copper with its blade. Another has its copper handle bent into a hook. Of our six axes, one weighs almost five pounds, (four pounds, twelve and one-fourth ounces;) of the eleven chisels some are as heavy as those now used; some of the six hatchets seem evidently cast; one adze has a cutting edge of almost three inches; and of the ten borers one measures sixteen inches. Our heaviest axe has a hole in the center of one side, for the insertion of a rivet, so as to fasten it firmly in a handle.

We have also concerning these curious coppers a *record* of the person by whom each was found, the time when, the place where,



the depth beneath the earth, and other particulars which by possibility may prove to have a significance which is as yet beyond conjecture. * When fitly co-ordinated, they may reveal the positions, stratifications, resemblances, or differences in grades of culture, or eras, of pre-historic peoples.

All implements of copper found elsewhere in America were plainly fashioned with hammers and without heating. But many of ours appear to have been cast in a mould. They show none of the flaws and laminations which characterize cold-wrought copper. They are rough, sometimes on opposite sides, with lines and ridges which are hard to be accounted for if we do not consider them mold-marks at the junction of the halves of the mold-flask. If our copper shall prove to be smelted as we maintain that it is, Mr. Perkins will deserve the credit of detecting, what all the world's archæologists have hitherto sought in vain, namely, the *transition period* intermediate between the age of stone and the age of bronze—the copper age proper, when men ceased to work copper as though it were stone, but began

*The question is always asked. "*Where did these coppers come from?*" It cannot be so definitely answered as is to be desired. Nevertheless something is known in respect to the finding of them.

They were all discovered within the limits of Wisconsin; while the Smithsonian specimens less than one eighth as many, were gleaned from eight different States. Nearly all of them have come to light in eleven southeastern counties of Wisconsin. Only in these counties has much search been made.

Most of these Wisconsin coppers were brought together into one collection by the zeal and perseverance of one single man, Frederick S. Perkins, of Racine county. Five years ago, this gentleman, though he had long been forming a museum of stone implements, had never seen one of copper. On the 25th of November, 1871, he was first shown such an antique. It was a large spear-head that had been exhumed three miles north of his residence in Burlington, Wisconsin. That November date marks the birthday of his interest in copper, or his transition from the stone to the copper age. His enthusiasm which had been great for the former became greater for the latter. He had leisure, or he made it, to ride over county after county on every road, waylaying every peddler, calling at every school, every store, at almost every house. He advertised in newspapers; he threw tempting bait abroad on all waters. He found what he sought where no one else would have looked for such a prize, and where many proved to him that it could not be found. He has recorded the name and residence, by both county and town of one hundred and twenty-one persons from whom he obtained pre-historic coppers, as well as three hundred and twenty-five others who furnished him stone antiques but had no coppers to furnish. This record shows how thorough and wide-spread were his researches. Indeed although the Wisconsin Historical Society has bought the bulk of his findings, some of them are scattered far and wide. Five of them are in the Central Park Museum, others in the Metropolitan in New York City, others, I think, have enriched the Smithsonian Institute.

A further question which must occur to every investigator, is, "Where were these implements obtained by those from whom Mr. Perkins obtained them?" On this point my information is more scanty than it would be were not Mr. Perkins now in Europe, and than it will be on his return. Large numbers of the tools were turned up in plowing and hoeing. Others at greater depths in digging foundations of houses or sinking wells. Not a few have come to light in burial mounds close by skeletons. In one such mound at Prairie du Chien an axe weighing 27-16 pounds, and eight inches long was discovered lying on a large flint spade, fourteen feet below the top of the mound, and seven feet below the level of the earth around, and among human bones. Another axe with other coppers, was taken from a similar mound in Barron county. The only socket spear-head which shows its rivet still in its place, was found on a knoll in plowed land by James Driscoll in May, 1874, at Lake Five, Waukesha Co. One chisel was met with ten feet below the surface in cutting a road through a bluff at Cedarburg, Ozaukee Co., in 1871. One of the most remarkable articles, a sort of copper pike, was dug up three feet under ground on the bank of Pike Creek, Hartford, Washington Co., by Samuel Mowry in 1865. One massive celt at first turned up in Merton, Waukesha Co., a peddler had preserved for twenty years. Several knives and other implements found near lakes and rivers appear to have been washed out of their banks. A lance-head found at Rubicon, Dodge Co., in 1869, has a lump or stud of silver on one side of it.

to melt and mold it as metal, and yet had not learned to harden it by alloys. This era is declared by the head of European archæologists, Sir John Lubbock "most interesting and to be scarcely traceable in Europe." I am informed from a reliable source that Dr. Foster of Chicago, in writing his volume on "Pre-historic Races in the United States," had maintained that no copper had been smelted in pre-historic America, but through conversing with Mr. Perkins and inspecting his coppers, reversed his life-long opinions and re-wrote a chapter of his book. He developed the new view of pre-historic metallurgy, however, as if it had grown up originally in his own mind, instead of having been borrowed from our Wisconsin investigator.

My friend, Dr. Hoy, at a recent meeting of the Wisconsin Academy, from which I was kept by engagements out of the city, held that none of our copper tools are cast. I appeal from his decision. I appeal from Dr. Hoy ill-informed to Dr. Hoy better informed. Here is a copper which he did not see, because I had carried it away, and which I think would have wrought conviction in him, as it has in many a skeptic. He reminds me of a colporteur in London arguing with an Oriental sailor, and asking that heathen if he really worshipped the sun. "Yes," said the Persian, "yes, I do, and you would too if you ever fairly saw him, but your fogs will never let you behold his face." If Dr. Hoy can hammer or acidify a chisel like that, he will shake my faith that that tool is cast, indeed that any copper ever was. Till he does, let him worship this sun, and let me accept the lesser miracle, which is in my judgment that smelted implements are before me, and that they here began their career. Even should it be demonstrated that holding our copper to have been *cast*, is premature, let me still hope for soon exhuming such castings as cannot be caviled at, perhaps the mineral molds themselves in which some of them were made, and such as Schliemann has lately excavated at Troy. Hundreds of pre-historic mines are well known along Lake Superior. The process was to build fires on copper-bearing rocks and then crumble them by dashing on water, so that native copper could be torn out. But the fires must sometimes have melted the metals, as copper fuses at 1996 to 2174 degrees, nearly a thousand less degrees of heat than iron. Seeing copper take the shape of rock crevices, how long time would the miners have needed to invent a mold, giving



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the copper whatever shape they pleased? In those pre-historic diggings I see the alphabet of metallurgy. The details of ancient smelting may be past finding out. But poor tools would have sufficed. According to Livingstone's last journals, "the Banyamwezi smelt pieces of copper into a pot nearly filled with wood ashes, by means of a bellows formed of goat skin. The fire is surrounded by masses of ant-hills, and in these there are hollows made to receive the melted metal; the metal is poured while the pot is held with the hands protected by wet rags."

Accordingly our expectation is to make a unique display at the *Centennial*. Our exhibit will be of tools of unalloyed copper, which will strike all observers as having been cast of molten metal, albeit sometimes afterwards finished by hammering. Our illustrations of this stage in human progress we think will be more numerous and more conclusive than the world has ever yet seen. To many, they will have no meaning but to those who understand them they will be an Emma Mine which needs no Schenck to advertise it. Our specimens, richly patinated with verdantique, and half as old as Time himself, we think will rival those British antiques which are described as the most ancient things known in London, or out of it, except perhaps some of her majesty's maids of honor.

To say all in a word regarding our cabinet, we are first in the copper-line, and the rest of the world are nowhere. (See page 101.) Our collection is first, without a second. We surpass other cabinets in the *quality* no less than in the quantity of our specimens.

Mr. C. C. Jones, of Georgia, has written a noble octavo concerning primeval relics there. His chief glory, or Kohinoor diamond, the one solitary copper finding in the State, is an axe, weighing 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ ounces, which being too light and fragile for any use, he thinks was among the regalia of some sachem, or enshrined in an ark of worship. I am loath to disturb the jubilant strains in which Mr. Jones celebrates his unique axe which has no rival in Georgia. Yet I cannot forget that one of our axes, weighing almost four pounds, or the average weight of the best axes now, is fitted to cut, while the Georgian axe, more than six times lighter, can only serve as a plaything. I must, then, speak to Mr. Jones in the spirit of the exhibitor of the skull of St. Peter at Rome, when a tourist said he

had seen another skull of the same saint in Spain. "That may be," said the relic-shower, "but what you have seen elsewhere is the skull of Peter at twelve years old—a Jewish fisher-boy—but I show you his skull when full-grown, and after he had become chief of the apostles." So may we boast—as Jones cannot—of an axe that is an axe.

As a rule, the copper found in Wisconsin is fashioned into articles of *utility*; elsewhere it was only manufactured into ornaments. This fact indicates that the pre-historic Wisconsinians had made more progress than their neighbors. The taste for ornaments, and hence the making of them, precedes that for utility. We see this truth illustrated in children, and in savages. When the Hawaiian King had issued a decree that no man would be admitted to his court-ball except in cravat and gloves, the Kanakas came, each in the glory of cravat and gloves, but without any other covering whatever. So, on the Nile, thousands think themselves in full dress when their only clothing is an ear-ring or nose-ring. According to our present light, other regions knew copper only as a decoration, while our own, advancing farther, had turned it to practical use in all spheres of life. Elsewhere the use of copper was as among children in a nursery; here, it was as by men in a foundry.

Our copper tools are not to be thought of as manufactured by *Indians*. No early missionary or trader speaks of copper as known among Indians, except for trinkets or objects of worship.* No tradition existed among them of copper mining anywhere. If they could have made such tools as we have, they would never have lost the art. But our coppers show a workmanship as far beyond In-

* Thus La Salle, on his last expedition through this region well nigh two centuries ago, says of the Indians: "The extremity of their arrows is armed, instead of iron, with a sharp stone, or the tooth of some animal. Their buffalo arrow is nothing else but a stone or bone, or sometimes a piece of very hard wood." Charlevoix writing about 1720, mentioned Indian "hatchets of flint which take a great deal of time to sharpen, as the only mode of cutting down trees." "To fix them in the handle," says he, "they cut off the head of a young tree, and make a notch in it in which they thrust the head of the hatchet. After some time, the tree by growing together, keeps the hatchet so fixed that it cannot come out. They then cut the tree to such a length as they would have the handle." "Both their arrows and javelins," he adds, "are armed with a point of bone wrought in different shapes." According to Hennepin, about 1680, (2,103) "the Indians, instead of hatchets and knives, made use of sharp stones which they fastened in a cleft piece of wood with leather thongs, and instead of awls they made a certain sharp piece of bone to serve." The Jesuit Father Allouez, writing about 1660 says: "I have seen in the hands of the savages pieces of copper weighing from ten to twenty pounds. They esteem them as divinities or as presents made them by the Gods. For this reason they preserve them wrapped up with the most precious things, and have sometimes kept them time out of mind." In none of these or other early chronicles do I find any mention of any copper tool whatever. Prehistoric mines about Lake Superior are a proof that our copper implements are not Indian work. No tradition of such mines are brought to light by early adventurers among Indians. But if excavated by them to such an extent as we see them, and for ages, how could they have been given up and even forgotten? On the whole the evidence now before us tends to show that our copper tools are the work of some pre-Indian race.

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dian art as our mounds of a million cubic feet are beyond Indian industry, every Indian being as lazy as he can be. I am asked whether these tools show any temper. If I must answer, No! yet no doubt their makers, or their wives, had temper enough, so that the tools needed none.

What do we *hope* for in the line of Wisconsin archæology? We hope to double and quadruple our store of sacred copper; yes to make it so pre-eminent that students from all quarters of the earth shall pilgrim hither to behold the resurrection of the copper age, as they now betake themselves to Pompeii for beholding the resurrection of classical antiquity. It is less than thirty years since the first trace of pre-historic mining on Lake Superior was espied. Five years ago not one of our coppers had ever been seen even by him who has garnered up almost all of them. What may not fifty years in the future yield? Our bonanza is yet to be unearthed. Heretofore antique metal has been thought not worth picking up, or thoughtlessly destroyed, as the first papyrus rolls exhumed in Herculaneum were broken up, being mistaken for charred sticks, or it has been sold for old copper. We hope to ring the changes on copper so loudly, widely, and persistently that every finding shall henceforth be preserved by all men who are worth a copper, or shall turn one up. When I say "preserved" I mean not thrown into some corner of a private house, where it will be always in the way and always out of the way, till thrown away altogether at house-cleaning, but enshrined in our State House save-all, where it will be safe and among a goodly company of its kind, each lending and borrowing light by mutual reflection. He that hath to him *should* be given.

Like things tend to unity, and our collection standing among others like the sun among planets, must attract them all to itself. It is said that if any Bostonian dies and leaves nothing to Harvard College, his neglect of that institution is considered such a proof of his insanity as to invalidate his will. If any Wisconsin owner of copper tools shall fail to deposit them in the Historical Society, I expect to see him sent to our Asylum as demented. It will pass for a very pious fraud to beg, borrow, buy, or steal all such relics, that you may place them where they will do the most good. Our cabinet was made for them, and they were made for it. Let no man put them asunder.

One English farmer, year after year gained the county prize for the fattest hog. His jealous neighbors, by watching, gained the secret of his success. It was this: when his fattening porker would eat no more, the farmer filled the trough, and then, at a side door, let in a hungry half-starved pig. Hoggishness proved so strong in the old fellow that he would at once push away the pig, and never rest till he had saved all the swill—in the same way that the whale saved Jonah. Now the Historical Society—I say it with reverence—occupies the position of that fattening porker. It believes in its exclusive right to every mash-tub that is “copper-bottomed.” It will feel no compunction in pushing away all individuals who seek to snap up any copper and keep it to themselves, as it were hiding that talent in a napkin.

When you go to England, you will see in the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, (established in 1863,) charred cloth from an Ohio mound, and the finest collection in the world relating to the handiwork of our aborigines: one so fine that it is doubtful whether one of equal extent and so rich can again be made; and all the curiosities, many of them unique, exhumed or gathered during fifteen years by Squier and Davis, the first and most thorough archaeologists in our West. You will feel humiliated. Make it then as sure as you can that none of our new discoveries go into captivity beyond the ocean. Let no more trans-atlantic showmen have reason to say: “America is empty and all her pre-historic wonders are here.”

What can we learn from our archæological gleanings?

We may judge in part by what has been learned elsewhere. Discoveries in Egypt, Jerusalem, Troy, Greece, are acknowledged to overpay for the labor of research, and are leading to increased explorations. We have better reason to anticipate seeing the whole manner of life among our mound-builders unveiled, than the Swiss, twenty years ago, had to hope for learning about their ancient and undreamed of lake-dwellers, what they have already learned.

It is to be hoped the meaning of our mounds will not always remain hieroglyphical. I cannot pass in utter silence the view of them laid before me by a Detroit archæologist, Mr. B. Hubbard. He holds that man-shaped mounds commemorate hunters, and that animal mounds represent the bears and other beasts which those

Nimrods had killed, and that the long and narrow mounds show the number of beasts killed. When the arms in a man-shaped mound are very long, it may indicate that the hero there interred was very strong; if a bird-mound be near him, that he was swift; if a serpent, that he was cunning. A large mound betokens a mighty chief. Mounds were on heights to be conspicuous, and near trails to be oftener seen. They suggest Egyptian pyramids, or Mexican teocallis. They are the monuments easiest to rear and most likely to last. The mound over the Greeks who fell at Marathon has outlasted a myriad of more pretentious memorials.

“ Age shakes Athene’s tower, but spares gray Marathon.”

It seems now agreed that Wisconsin mounds were reared by a race more ancient than the Indians. No doubt Indian skeletons are found in them, but, as Italians digging up a pagan statue have baptized it for a saint, turning Jupiter into Jew Peter, so the Indians appear to have reaped the fruit of other men’s labors and used their mounds for what have been styled “intrusive burials.” Our mounds are such a multitude as betokens a people more multitudinous than the historic Indians have ever been.

Whether America was falsely or truly styled the New World, seemed till lately a problem of impossible solution. But it is now confessed that Agassiz following Sir William Logan’s Laurentian eozoan researches, has proved America to be the first-born among all the continents; hers the first dry land lifted above the waters; hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the far West. There is some reason for holding that the camel of the Old World was descended from American ancestors. Such revelations concerning our physical genesis encourage hopes of corresponding discoveries regarding man in the Western Hemisphere. If we fail to dig up pre-Adamites, we may hope in Sauk “garden-beds” to espy some relics of Eden; and copper tools may put us on the trail of the Satanic copper-head who wrought such mischief there in the Mosaic paradise:

Some facts now demonstrated regarding our own pre-historic era would very lately have been pronounced beyond the possibility of

discovery. One instance is an aboriginal *commerce* no less extensive than the present limits of the United States. How can the existence of this continental traffic be proved? In the same way that the tin which alloys Egyptian antiques, proves early intercourse with Britain, or the East Indies, or both, because tin cannot be found nearer. So pre-historic pipes, being found all over our country, show dealings of all sections with Minnesota, being made of a red stone which, it is said, can be quarried only in, or near, one single county of that State, now fitly named Pipestone. Our explorers have also found side by side copper from Lake Superior, obsidian, or volcanic glass from California, mica from the Alleghanies, shells from the Gulf, or the Atlantic coast, slate from New England, and galena from Illinois. No one will pretend that these products came together from the four winds without hands. Hence they demonstrate a transcontinental commerce.

A fact that is nothing when we know not its relations, is everything when we know them. It is like the dome of the finest edifice in Pompeii, which was never wholly filled with ashes, but passed for an old cistern age after age, though a slight excavation would have laid bare bronzes, marbles, mosaics, and frescoes which all the world would covet. How near, and yet how far! Its connections once known, what a tell-tale that cistern became.

On the spear of native copper which I hold in my hand, there is a stud or gem of silver. Mexican coppers, according to Denton, are thus marked. Therefore every such silver spot points to Lake Superior, for there, and there only, is native copper so blotched. We may yet map out a grand highway for copper traffic marked by mounds all the way from our ancient city and fortress, Aztalan, to the capital of the Aztecs.

New data for new inferences will constantly come to light, and students will grow keener to discover new meanings in the old data. Those used to the dark, see much by little light. Practice makes perfect. Hudibras who had been often kicked could tell at the first touch of the boot what sort of leather it was. For ages the kite was only a school-boy's plaything; but at last it drew down lightning, and then a bridge over Niagara. Who shall say that its potentialities are even now exhausted?

Viewed in the light of experience, then, our archæological havings, however small to the eye, like the stars, may be great to the

mind like the stars. To the eye, the refuse of a tinker's shop, beggarly elements, our coppers to the mind are potentialities of knowledge beyond the dreams of those who fancy there is nothing in heaven or earth beyond the pale of their own philosophy, and so bark at every new idea, as dogs do at approaching strangers. Let us rather believe in revelations about to break forth concerning races here before us; their when, where, and what, mutual and foreign relations; the succession of races, wars, feasts, worship, progress, and decay. Our brightest blazes are lit up by unexpected sparks.

What Newton learned from the fall of an apple, Galileo from the swinging of a lamp, Galvani from the twitching of a frog's leg, Oken from the skull of a stag, the world knows by heart. Clues equally slender may lead to the discovery of Americas which lay hid from Columbus, and which still lie hid.

One great man writes me regarding the pre-historic era, "Write Sphinx on the whole matter at once." But the impossible is always happening. "Impossible," said Newton, "to find longitude at sea," yet survived till the man was born who found it. "Impossible," said Lardner, "to cross the Atlantic by steam," and the same year saw his demonstration refuted by the logic of facts. "Impossible," cried Comte, "to determine the chemical elements of the planets," elements already as plain as daylight wherever the spectroscope has penetrated. Said the British Quarterly, in 1825, "What can be more palpably absurd and ridiculous than the prospect held out of locomotives traveling twice as fast as stage-coaches. We would as soon expect people to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet rockets as to trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine going at such a rate." The impossible has come to pass so often that whoever declares anything impossible, ought, like the Hibernian, to expect to be disappointed.

Clarence dreamed he saw:

" A thousand men that fishes gnawed upon,
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl
Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels;
All scattered on the bottom of the sea."

Could you behold this dream realized you would no longer doubt the possibility of commensurate pre-historic disclosures. But in recent years deep-sea soundings and dredgings have brought up from

ocean-beds things more marvelous than Clarence dreamed of there. Among them are globigerinæ and other creatures still alive and thriving, though before only known as fossils of races extinct long before the mammoth was born. They form the connecting link between our era and those called geological.

What is our *hope* regarding Pre-historics? We hope to multiply *investigators*. When Napoleon, fording the Red Sea in the dark, blundered into deep water, he halted his own horse, and bade his officers swim their horses in every direction, like radii from him as a center. Some of them soon struck land. Let our seekers scatter all around, and they cannot all remain empty-handed. In eleven counties where one man has found so much, what cannot a thousand find? and how much more in the forty-nine Wisconsin counties where no search has ever been made. Individual efforts will grow more intensive and more extensive, the more men consider that here only in all the world have many coppers been exhumed, and that they may here be sought more hopefully than in any other region, since we border upon the grandest deposit of native copper in existence, while all our counties are rich in float copper, raw material for copper work which streamed away in the drift period from Lake Superior beds as from the Homeric reservoir:

“ Whence all the rivers, all the seas had birth,
And every fountain, every rill on earth.”

When we learn how far a star is from the sun, we easily estimate how much light it can show. So we judge what amount of wrought copper can be discovered in any State by its distance from Wisconsin.

Indications are not wanting that our past prizes in copper-hunts are all as nothing to what is in store for us. Pre-historic mining-pits honey-comb Isle Royal all over. Along the south shore of Lake Superior they are frequent for a hundred miles. They were every one rich pockets. Their yield of copper must have been many times enough for sheathing the British navy. What has become of this copper? It cannot have vanished like iron in oxidizing rust. It must still exist, and lurk all around us. At Assouan the quarries prove to a stranger that Egypt must be rich in granite monoliths, for there we see the rock whence they were hewn. Spanish treasure-ships sunk in the Carribbean ages ago, still teach

divers where to ply their sub-marine machinery for richest spoils. In Greece, the Styx and other catabothra, or lost rivers, emptying into subterranean abysses, suggested to the ancients streams that girdled the whole under-world. So our mining shafts, sunk time out of mind, are a prophecy and an assurance of copper bonanzas in the future so vast as will make us utterly forget whatever has been discovered. All hail such a resurrection of the copper age. The longer it has been lost the more welcome will it be when found again.

We hope for special aid from *Germans*, for we have had it. Most of our specimens bear the names of German finders. History will repeat itself. Three great German inventions begin with the letter P., Printing, Powder, and Protestantism. Let us have one more, namely, Pre-historics. But all nationalities will aid us. They have. Our French inhabitants are few, but one of them, Mr. De Neveu, of Fond du Lac, has just presented a copper quite unlike any other in our cabinet. We call it a spear with a unilateral barb. Those like it have been found in France and on the island of Santa Barbara, and are now used in Terra del Fuego. Meeting with unequal resistance in water it will not go straight. So it seems of an absurd pattern, but it is found that if aimed at a fish it will hit him, for, owing to the refraction of light, he is not where he looks as if he were. One barb is then better than two, and we are the fools after all.

St. Apollonia, when martyred, had all her teeth torn out, but when gathered up it was perceived that they cured tooth-ache. They were hence in great demand and sold at high prices. So it came to pass, when Henry the VIII ordered every man who had a tooth of the Saint, to bring it to him in Westminster, that he filled three barrels with those "delicate little pearl-like wedges." This story is true, for it is *printed*, and I have read it in Fuller's Church History, on the two hundred and forty-first page of the second volume.

The next circular of the Historical Society we trust will bring us as many coppers as St. Apollonia had teeth, and those all of power to work historic miracles as great as curing tooth-ache.

Moreover, from our Irish friends we hope for fac similes of their unique coppers. They promise to have photographic copies taken for us—as soon as the originals are lost.

Many antiques are comparatively valueless because it is not known in what locality they were discovered, still less amid what surroundings. Our own treasure we think in this regard superior to most others, and mean it shall become doubly so. Noting the position of a human bone, or of ashes, and even of stones, in relation to the skeleton of a mammoth, has furnished one of the principal proofs that some men were born before all mammoths died. The more men learn what to look for, the more they will see—see through, and see round.

We hope something will be done to throw light on our earliest past even by our own *State*. Belgium has caused her caves to be carefully explored for pre-historic remains. Most governments in Christendom, and some out of it—as Turkey and Egypt, though both barbaric and bankrupt, have also expended no small sums in analogous researches. We shall not fail to catch the spirit of the age. It is hard to remain cold when it is summer all around us. We hope then for the *conservation* of our pre-historic monuments, as well as of our prairie chickens.

No sooner had our Society taken steps to procure the Perkins Pre-historics, than the Smithsonian Institution made such proposals as had we procrastinated, would have obliged us to travel to Washington whenever we desired to look at our own antiquities. Those Perkins findings are recognized as one of those jewels which are too precious to lack a worthy setting. An ark to enshrine them is now preparing by the State of Wisconsin; it was finished this week.

The first settlers of Ohio secured from injury the most conspicuous mound in Marietta by laying out their village grave-yard around it. In the same spirit, Dr. Emerson gave a hundred dollars to Beloit College, with a proviso that the money should revert to his heirs as soon as a certain mound in the college campus was disturbed. Had there been more of this spirit in our State University Regents, they would never have let the mammoth lizard perish which they found stretched out along the very sky-line of its ridge by the lake, the nearest mound to this capitol, and one of the noblest anywhere.

We hope the more from the State in this regard, because "Denmark has bought multitudes of tumuli, and thus preserved national monuments which otherwise would have been destroyed," and because most European States have long since organized Commissions

for the conservation of their antiquities. We need such a commission.

Vandalism is by no means confined to Moslems in the Orient. It is cosmopolitan. A mound was torn down at Chetek, Barron county, last spring, that the earth might be dumped into a dam. A skeleton was uncovered so well preserved that a man stood on the skull without breaking it, and so gigantic that the thigh bone reached from the ground almost to a man's hips, but was all thrown into the dam with the earth. Yet one implement of copper was saved when all else was lost. Thanks to Capt. Wilson, of Menomonie, we have added that nugget to our treasure.

In reference to the lessons of our antiques one of the dangers is theorizing and even dogmatizing over soon. A blank is better than a blot. On many points our materials are still scanty. Let us beware of imitating the restorer of classical statues, who when he discovers an old Roman nose, undertakes to carve for it such a head and even body as belonged to it, or rather as it belonged to, in the days of Cæsar. We have too many coopers who set about making barrels out of bung-holes. The first half dozen of our animal mounds which met the eye of one philosopher, chanced to face the south. He thereupon rushed to the conclusion that they must be the graves of a people who had migrated from the South, but, homesick for its genial climate made their monuments look that way. This conceit reminds one of the legend that all Jews, wherever buried, must dig their way in the earth to the valley of Jehoshaphat before they can rise from the dead. Let us not be too positive on *chronological questions*,

"Time is now old, and hath forgot himself,
And water-drops have worn the stones of Troy;
Yea, blind oblivion swallowed cities up,
And mighty states, characterless, are grated
To dusty nothing."

Dame Nature is a matron, or a maiden rather, so old that she conceals her age,—the one secret that a woman knows how to keep. Some archæologists talk as absurdly about time as the boy did who computed the age of the world from the number of leaves in his Bible, or the London coachman who maintained that my Ptolemaic Tetradrachm could not be twenty-one hundred and sixty-six years old, because the world had stood no more years than 1868.

Let us not imitate the tyrant of Babylon who demanded interpretations before telling his dreams, or the Turk who called for his wife's portrait from an artist, but would vouchsafe him no glance of that wife's face.

For the present we can best aid the progress of pre-historic knowledge, not by weaving cob-web theories, but by collecting, bit by bit, materials for future speculation; "hiving wisdom with each studious year."

Tourists will never come to Wisconsin to see the glaciers of the Alps, or the cascades of the Yosemite, or the volcanoes of Hawaii. But such is our felicity of position that they must betake themselves to us if they would behold earth-works of the mound-builders molded into the forms of men and animals, and especially if they would see the *Copper Age* where it has left its most unmistakable memorials of metallurgy in its cradle. That age is our peculiar treasure. The quarries of Paros and Pentelicus made the Greeks architects and sculptors. In like manner, Lake Superior copper-beds made the primeval Wisconsinians metallurgists.

I seem to see scientists from the ends of the earth resorting to our pre-historic Capitoline tower, as to Hammerfest for gazing on the midnight sun, or to Calaveras for girdling its matchless trees. Each comes rich in a culture which adds a precious seeing to the eye, and makes every weed for him a flower.

Nor yet shall we lack archæologists of our own, equally clear-sighted. When relics of the past have been searched out in all our borders, brought together, classified, studied in themselves and in their relations, I expect our copper to work a greater miracle than any enchanter's wand in the Arabian Nights; yes, one like that which chemistry has lately wrought with coal-tar. In geological eras the flora bloomed in flowers of hues as multitudinous and gorgeous or delicate as flush our evening skies. All that flora was burned up or turned to coal. It is brought up from the bowels of the earth as black and unsightly as any imp of darkness. But chemistry transfigures it, raises it from burial and cremation in the shape of aniline colors, every tint however varied, in all its first lustre and beauty, not one effaced by the fingers of decay.

It is held by many that a cataclysm like that which destroyed the primeval flora, also crushed at once the mammoth and the mound-builder. We see a resurrection of the flora in the magenta and

solferino colors before us every day on every bonnet—some of us may have tasted soup made of mammoth meat from Siberia canned, as it were, by frost for unknown ages.

Let us not then despair of prolonging our lives backward, if not forward, while beholding our pre-historic annals unveiled through a period so extended that we shall reckon it not by centuries but by millenniums. May our history show itself a tree which shall grow both ways—but faster downward in the abyss of memories than upward—in those airy hopes where our State motto bids us press “*Forward.*”

The fac similes of sundry copper implements, alluded to in the text, and found facing pages 84, 86, 88, and 90, are as follows :

AXES.—Fig. 5, weighing three and three-fourths pounds, is identical in weight with a modern lumberman's ax. Fig. 10, is a hatchet very similar to the one found beside a skeleton, and with a flint spade, in the great mound opened at Chetek, Barron county, in 1875. Fig. 27, weighing four and three-fourths pounds, is believed to be the heaviest article of unalloyed copper that has ever been discovered; It is further remarkable for the hole bored in its side. It was found near Fond du Lac, and presented by Mrs. Keyes Darling.

KNIVES.—Fig. 2 has a flat tang to thrust into a shaft. Fig. 8 may have been used without any handle, in order to make the most of the hook into which its tang is curved. Fig. 7 shows a handle rolled out of the same plate of copper with its blade.

ARROWS.—These are far more rare than spear heads, if we believe those archaeologists who class nothing as an arrow which exceeds the length of two and a half inches. The writer has observed that the steel arrows with which buffaloes are now killed west of the Missouri, are very light. A hundred of them scarcely weigh one pound. The two here represented are all those of their class in our collection.

SPEARS.—Figs. 3, 11, 18, and 20 are specimens of spears with a sort of bayonet sockets in which shafts were to be stuck. Fig. 11, shows a hole punched for a rivet to hold the shaft. Fig. 3, shows such a rivet still fast in its place. The style of swaging is apparent in Figs. 3, and 11. Fig. 15, has a blade swelling somewhat like a bayonet. Fig. 16, is notched at the tang like most stone spearheads, so as, when thrust into a shaft, to be held fast by a sinew tied around it. Figs. 19, 21, 22, and 26, have tangs so round smooth and sharp that they are thought to have been used as awls. Fig. 22, shows a stud of silver, sometimes called the ear-mark of Lake Superior. It can scarcely be torn from the copper by any mechanical force. Fig. 26, is the heaviest of its class and the only one as yet brought to light with a hole bored through its blade, possibly for inserting a cord to pull the spear out of water after it had been thrown at a fish. Fig. 25, is a unique specimen of a spear with a unilateral barb. The purpose of it is discussed in the text.

BORERS.—Figs. 17 and 23 are awls. Fig. 28 is fourteen inches long and three in circumference, round and pointed at each end. It was dug up near a lake, at a depth of three feet.

CHISELS.—Figs. 12, 13, and 14. All these are very solid and well-wrought. But Fig. 12, duplicated as Fig. 24, and the piercer, Fig. 28, seem more indubitably cast than any other articles now in possession of the Historical Society. They have been pronounced by practical founders to have been cast in a mold; yet the evidence of casting may be still clearer in certain specimens which have been sent to Europe for the inspection of foreign antiquarians. Figs. 1 and 9 we venture to call *adzes*, though various other conjectures concerning their nature may be equally plausible.

Westphalian Medal--1648.

BY PROF. JAMES D. BUTLER, LL. D.

At a meeting of the executive committee of the Historical Society, in November, 1864, Dr. Butler of the State University, to whom a certain rare and curious medallion, which had lately been added to the cabinet, had been referred for examination and elucidation, submitted the following report:

One of the richest, rarest, royalest of medals, of indubitable genuineness, has been unearthed where one would last look for such a gem—namely, in Wisconsin—in our far Northwest, in Buffalo county near the Mississippi. It was turned up, only six inches beneath the surface, in September, 1861, by a farmer, Charles Horace Sabin, while plowing in his field, which had never been plowed but twice, at a new settlement named Maxwell, on Bear Creek, an affluent of the Chippewa river.

This antique relic has been handed me for elucidation—a welcome task, although it may prove of impossible performance, away from all books on numismatology. But so far as brick can be made without straw, will I essay to bring a classic brick-bat from the land of the Dacotahs.

The exhumed plate of silver is called a medal rather than a coin, because it was stamped not as a circulating medium, but to mark a great historic era—a peace as notable in the seventeenth century as that which followed the battle of Waterloo was in the nineteenth.

Among medallists this disk would be classed as No. 38, because its diameter measures thirty-eight sixteenths of an inch, that is it exceeds the width of a column in an ordinary newspaper. Round both of its faces there runs an ornamented border or wreath. Its

material is silver, but I hope to show that it is more than *gold* in virtue of its associations. Its weight is 840 grains; the silver in a dollar is 412½ grains.

At its top two holes were once drilled—in the edge so as not to mar its face—for inserting a loop, that it might be hung on a wall, or around one's neck.

The curiosity I treat of has been photographed by Mr. John S. Fuller, of this city, so truthfully that by looking on his handiwork your eyes will catch in an instant what your ears cannot learn from me in an hour. I know not a more interesting application of sun-painting than its thus furnishing *fac similes* of time-honored rarities.

Be ours to praise that rare mechanic skill,
That stamps, repeats, and multiplies at will,
And cheaply propagates to distant climes
The fairest products of the noblest times.

On its reverse the medallion bears the following ten lines in Latin:

Pacis felicitas,
Orbi Christiano qua restituta,
Qua ad incitamentum demonstrata.
Tot regnis et provinciis,
Ad utrumque solem utrumque oceanum,
Terra marique parta securitas,
Tranquillitatis publicæ
SPE ET VOTO.
Monastery, Westph.,
Anno MDCXLVIII.

Which may be thus translated:

The happiness of peace,
In part restored to the Christian world,
In part held forth as a winning example
To so many kingdoms and provinces,
Unto both suns [the rising and setting] and to both oceans,
Security obtained on land and sea,
Through hopes and vows
For public tranquillity.
At Munster, in Westphalia.
In the year sixteen hundred and forty-eight.

In speaking of peace as restored “in part” and “in part held forth as a winning example,” as well as of “vows for public tran-

quillity," the inscription alludes to the fact that terms of pacification were settled between Spain and Holland, on the 30th of January, 1648, while the other belligerents, Sweden, France, the Emperor of Germany, and their allies, continued waging war for almost a year.

The Latin is of beautiful letters; its only peculiarities are the use of the letter *v* for *u*, and an abbreviation for the affix *que*.

Upon the obverse, and encircling it, we meet with the following legend, which forms the 113th line in the third book of Virgil's *Æneid*:

Et juncti currum dominæ subiere leones.

"Lions joined in one were yoked to the car of their mistress," [Peace.]

Between each pair of these words there is a star or a rose.

On the open space within the encircling legend—technically termed "the field"—and beneath the words *pax Hispano Batava*, the goddess of peace is drawn in a chariot by two lions, who are trampling upon a battle flag and what appears an emblazoned shield, or grandgarde. Her right arm clasps the horn of plenty, which overflows with flowers and fruit; while her left holds both the lion-reins and, as her whip, the caduceus of Mercury, that winged olive-wand which became the symbol of peace, because with it the god pacified two fighting serpents and made them twine around it in a loving embrace.—Behind her seat, in place of a band-box, a war-drum is lashed above a General's cap. In the foreground, a cannon is tumbling at the heels of the lions, while cannon-shot, pikes, sword and pistol, as well as the two halves of a cuirass, lie on the earth as if contemptuously thrown away.

While the drapery of the goddess is ample, it is arranged in the style of the most,—or rather of the least,—dressed belles in a modern ball room, and indeed it outdoes them all, since it would fall off her altogether—but for the lacings of her bodice.

One of the lion steeds which represents the King of Spain, arrayed in what heralds call arms of pretension, is crowned with the imperial diadem of Germany, and bears in his uplifted paw its imperial sceptre—each distinguishable by a cross surmounting a globe. The other lion in the span, represents the Netherlandic United Provinces. He grasps a double sheaf of arrows with allusion to the *Æsopic* fable about the bundle of sticks which, taken together, no

man could break, though an old invalid snapped them asunder one by one. The purpose, as in the Dutch motto: *vis unita fortior*—"strength united is stronger,"—is to symbolize the necessity of Hollandic union. The arrows are seven, because the United Provinces were so many.

The faces of the coursers, having a human expression, may have been designed as rude portraits of the King then regnant, Phillip IV. of Spain, and perhaps the stadtholder of Holland who had just died, Frederick Henry of Orange.

We are at first surprised to see the armorial figure emblematic of Holland, which was a republic, decorated with a crown. Yet it is indisputable that the Dutch arms, in the seventeenth century, were a lion beneath a crown, perhaps to signify that the Dutch people were no less sovereign than any monarch. Sceptics on this point may find those arms so blazoned on a map of New Netherlands, published in 1621, and reproduced by a *fac simile* in the first volume of the New York Colonial Collections.

In the wheel of the triumphal car, the hub is formed by the head of the Gorgon Medusa, which the armipotent Minerva was wont to bear in battle on her aegis, and the flaming or snaky locks of which serve for the spokes. Indeed the car itself is so massive that it must at first have been intended for the god of war, and thus it proclaims Mars despoiled of his throne.

Just behind the peace-goddess the sun is so rising that its beams gild and glorify her head with a halo.

The whole disk of silver is in wonderful preservation. It was so bright when found as to need no scouring, but only rubbing off a little rust from the inscription. Not a letter in the legend, save two i's in *provinciis*, is blurred. No ray of the sun, no rein of the steeds, no cord on the drum, no jewel in the crowns, is effaced or obscured. So perfect is the pistol as to make it clear that its model was the "wheel-lock" which struck fire out of a fire-stone, that is out of iron pyrites, or sulphuret of iron, by means of whirling round against it a tiny steel wheel. After all, some minutiae in the device may be of doubtful interpretation. It is difficult to judge what manner of antiquated armor, shaped something like a spherical triangle, lies beneath the paws of the Spanish lion, and what it is which is carved upon the front of the car of Peace. Possibly it is

are still shown the very room in which the Westphalian peace was agreed on and signed. To this day it is called the Hall of Peace—*Frieden Saal*. It also retains paintings of the plenipotentiaries who took part in the Congress, and the cushions they sat upon still cover their seats.

However artistic the numismatic gem I have spoken of, and though it be, in potency as well as in shape, one of the lenses in the telescope of history,—aye a portable Herculaneum in miniature,—yes, though it fires imagination with hopes of manifold discoveries of a sort hitherto unknown in the northwest,—yet our greatest wonder must be, how it forced its passage over oceans, continents, and wildernesses, to the corner where it was picked up. We look at it, as at the fly embalmed in amber, marvelling:

Not that the thing is rich or rare,
But how in the world it came to be *there*.

The more one revolves this problem,—how the Eureka medallion reached the heart of our land—the more must he find himself lost in wandering mazes. The origin of the illustrious foreigner may not indeed be doubtful, although a mint mark is wanting. The peace signalized, being only between Spain and Holland, the medal must be either of Spanish or of Dutch extraction. But the Spaniards would not stamp it, since the Westphalian peace was the death-warrant of their pretensions to authority over the Low Countries, no less than the peace of 1783 was the knell of British domination over the United States of America.

It remains that we must consider our medallic finding a Dutch mintage, the seal of Dutch success against fearful odds, a token of Dutch triumph over the first empire in the world on which the sun never set. Well might the Netherlanders make its disk as broad and as round as their own exultant visages, in what Ranke calls "the golden age of their power and their wealth." Such pieces become rare in a proportion which increases with each generation. Thus, an analogous medal in honor of Dutch recognition of American independence, stamped in 1782, had become so uncommon in 1852, that it forms one of the few engravings in the works of John Adams, Vol. VII., 652. The specimen from which that print was taken, now at Salem in the unrivalled collection of M. A. Stickney, Esq., was culled by him from a parcel of old silver in the shop of

Mr. Harnden, a Boston plater, and had been picked up in the streets of New Orleans. If this piece was rare, how much rarer must one be that is older by a century and a half! Moreover, that a memorial of our own history was thus a waif in one of our great cities, is no marvel compared to the discovery of a token of an event which had nothing to do with our country, made in the heart of our backwoods.

The question recurs—"How could a Dutch medal penetrate into the heart of the Western continent?"

Had it been of French origin, we might be ready to trace its advent hither to Father Guignas, who, in 1727, was with a party that built a fort not more than a day's journey from where it was brought to light. Or, we might imagine it was dropped by Le-Sueur, who passed near that spot in 1699; or perhaps by Perrot who, ten years earlier, had taken possession of Lake Pepin; or that it was robbed from Hennepin who, first of all white men, visited that region, and that as an Indian captive, in 1680. Or, we might suppose it to have been in some way procured from Jesuit missionaries who, within a dozen years after it was minted, had established stations on the south of Lake Superior. But why should Frenchmen carry with them Dutch medals?—Frenchmen who, within the last century, have been gravely doubting the possibility of the existence of wit in any German?

After all, however, there is more ground than I at first supposed for the conjecture, that the puzzling medal was carried up the Mississippi by the first white man—whom we know to have ever ascended that river—Father Hennepin.

Hennepin was a native of Belgium; he had a sister married in Dutch Flanders, and there he studied and spent his youth. In the Dutch town of Maestricht, he early had charge of a hospital. In America, he had been intimate with the Dutch in Albany. Holland was clearly the home of his heart.

What more natural than that he should have had one of those medals which were made when he was about eight years old, and of which, as the seal of national independence, all Netherlanders must have been so proud. But if he had one, it was doubtless taken from him by the Indians who, he says, never left him out of their sight, for fear he would hide some valuable under the ground. But his captors hunted along the great river as they carried him up

and down, and their usual hunting-ground was near where the medal was ploughed up.

The truth then, though stranger than fiction, may be, that Hennepin took with him to the far West the most suggestive issue of the Dutch mint as a memorial of his youth or friends in Holland; and that he was robbed of that relic by some savage who soon dropped it in the leafy wilderness, or the grass of the prairie, there to lie undisturbed and keep its secret till the savages, and the French who dispossessed them, had vanished away.

This theory of medallic transmission—though fascinating to the imagination—I will readily abandon, as soon as one more plausible shall come to my knowledge.

It seems improbable that the puzzling medallion can have been lost in recent times by any Dutch immigrant. It was found in a township which was not yet seven years old, and in which to this day, there is not a single Hollander. New comers from the Netherlands would not be likely to possess a piece so rare and ancient, and one never intended for circulation. The valley of the Chippewa in which our medal was picked up, still abounds in valuable furs, and trappers no doubt penetrated thither more than a century ago. But these *voyageurs* were French, almost to a man. If they had been Dutch, they were not of a class whom we should expect to bring with them curiosities of such a nature.

On the whole it is not impossible that this noblest daughter of the Netherlands' mint—standing in its medallurgy—at the end of such a vista as Washington occupies in the list of our presidents—if Hennepin's fingers never touched it, became the booty of some French or Indian warrior, on a raid among Dutch plantations in New York, possibly at the surprise of Schenectady in 1619, and was carried around his neck as a trophy handed down, it may be, through generations, transmitted from tribe to tribe, till in the rapture of battle or the chase, it fell unnoticed to the earth, where it was buried by winds and rains—winds heaping up sand and dust,—rains washing them down. It came to light near the dividing line between the ancestral hunting grounds of the Chippewas and the Sioux. The singular perfection of the medal, urges me to think that it could not have been long thumbed and worn, but that it was ages ago plunged in the bosom of the earth, where it lurked in safety, though less than a foot beneath the surface, till the fullness of time

for its resurrection. It could hardly have been old when it was buried.

Viewing the numismatic gem merely as a historic monument, a witness as undying as the wandering Jew, and who has roved as far, besides serving to thicken other proofs that do demonstrate thinly, we feel that it is beautiful to see thereby as through a long vista into early time, to have a section cut out of another century and hemisphere, brought safe into the present, and set down before our eyes. How much more beautiful were it, if the metal, so eloquent in silvery notes of things contemporary with its birth, could write an autobiography, telling us from first to last of its wanderings, going to and fro in the earth and walking up and down in it. Full of such wishes we cannot gaze upon the fair peace goddess without saying to her, "O that thy lips had language!" But it may not be.

Within her mouth she doth enjail her tongue,
And now her tongue's use is to her no more
Than is an unstrung viol, or a harp,
Or, like a cunning instrument cased up.

NOTE.—It is a source of great regret, that this rare medal was stolen from the Cabinet of the Society within a year after its reception. This publication and description it is hoped may be the means of its recovery.



The Discovery of the Mississippi.

BY JOHN G. SHEA, LL. D.

Read at a special meeting of the Society, on the bi-centennial of said discovery,
June 17, 1873.

Even in the hurry and whirl of the active life of an energetic nation, we may well pause on a day like this, to commemorate the bold and Christian energy of men of other days, who faced all the dangers of the untried wilderness, to explore, for thousands of miles, the heart of our Northern Continent in the interest of religion and science.

On this day two hundred years ago, a little bark canoe that had threaded the marshy maze between the Fox and Wisconsin, glided from the latter of these Rivers into the clear broad bosom of the Mississippi, which still bears the simple title Great River, which the Northern Algonquin tribes had given it.

From the far North the River came, as its volume of water showed. Whither it bore its swelling tide, was the question that Louis Jolliet and Father James Marquette were now practically to decide.

And who were they? To imagine the one a bush-ranger, an ignorant *coureur de bois*, whose sole knowledge was wood-craft and shrewd dealings with the Indians, or the other a pious missionary, equally ignorant of all human learning and indifferent to progress, would be a grave error.

The missionaries who step by step threaded the net work of Lakes and Rivers, not only reported the data which they obtained, and preserved them; but they gleaned from members of distant tribes statements as to the geography, fauna and mineralogy of the lands beyond. Nearer and nearer they came to the Great River—the

Mississippi of the Algonquin tribes, and they urged the Government at Quebec to undertake its exploration. It is little wonder that at first their hints and suggestions remained unheeded. For the little Canada Colony, on the St. Lawrence, to seek to penetrate some untold thousands of miles into interior America, seemed as yet too bold and rash. Canada was scientific in tone. This may seem a strange view to many, but even down to the days of Kalm, a scientific traveler would have found more cultivated men in Canada than in New England or New York, to converse with him in regard to the topography, climate, botany, mineralogy, and natural history of America, as well as the ethnology and linguistics of its native tribes.

Geography was especially cultivated. France had long had at Dieppe and other ports, her schools of hydrography, sometimes directed by navigators, often, too, by priests, who seem to have worked in most heartily with the men of the sea. From these schools came men, who, on a new coast, at once with practiced eye and hand noted down its outline, and, if time permitted, gave exact charts. Such was Champlain, whose charts of the New England coast, overlooked by many students, excited the wonder of Thoreau by their accuracy, as he followed his course two centuries and a half after the founder of Quebec sailed along the coast.

In the same spirit, the little hamlet of Quebec had a school of hydrography connected with its College, and a King's hydrographer stationed there. And we may safely aver that no English colony of that day had any such department for coast survey.

Louis Jolliet was a native of our American soil; he was born in 1645 at Quebec, where his father was a worthy wheel-wright. Talent and piety distinguished the boy, who received an education at the College of Quebec, the more careful and extended as he evinced a desire to study for the ministry. He even took the preliminary steps and entered the Theological Seminary of Quebec. But mathematical and geographical study seems to have had its charms for him, and it was cultivated as a science that in a colony under the French navy department could not come amiss. Even then he may have been associated as a pupil with Franquelin, the King's hydrographer.

Gradually his views changed. Plunging into the busy world without the cloistered life, he sought a field for his talents in the

West. Soon after 1667, he is reported as exploring Lake Superior, and as having gone very near the Mississippi. The last writer who has thrown light on this period, in his "Notes on the History, Bibliography and Cartology of New France and the adjacent country," sums up Jolliet's character: "He was a very well educated and upright man."

His companion in the adventurous journey was one of that body to which Jolliet owed his education, Father James Marquette, a native of Laon in Picardy, one of those devoted men of skill and learning, in whom devotion to his calling and tender piety outshine all else. He had been nine years on the Western missions; was familiar with many of the dialects, fearless, energetic; who had longed for years to thread the course of the Great River that lay beyond, "impelled by his ardent desire of extending the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and of making him known and adored by all the nations of that country;" that River as to which he had gleaned so many details, and down whose mighty current the red warriors seeking foemen to engage, had day after day plied the paddle with nothing to show them where it emptied.

Both Jolliet and Marquette have left monuments as map-makers. They had conferred together as the precursors of your honorable body, an amateur Society in the West, discussing and planning to add to the printed maps of the day, the data of their own discovery and of Indian report. They planned its exploration.

De Courcelles had already employed Jolliet. The new expedition involving little expense, pleased Talon—the wise Intendant of Canada, the Colbert of New France; and he urged the Count de Frontenac, who had just arrived as Governor-General, to dispatch Jolliet on the errand. The glitter of California gold decided the point. Jolliet was selected, and Father Marquette requested to join him. The young Canadian was soon hastening westward. On the eighth of December, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, to which the missionary was devoted heart and soul, heaven seemed to him to send its greatest blessing, Louis Jolliet reached him at Michilimackinac with his cheering news. "The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had ever invoked," says Marquette, "since I have been in this Ottawa country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the River Mississippi."

It was not a very grand Government expedition; and as one of them remarks: "We were not long in preparing our outfit, as though we were embarking on a voyage, the duration of which we could not foresee." One of the difficulties which had hitherto prevented the attempt, will seem strange. It was the want of good birch-bark canoes, which it seems the Illinois did not make. Indian corn, with some dried meat, was their whole stock of provisions; and thus supplied, Jolliet and Marquette, with five men, started from Michilimackinac in two bark canoes, with their preliminary map in hand, based on Indian accounts, showing the Rivers they were to take, the tribes and noted land-marks they were to pass, the course and direction of the Great River.

Everything was thus systematic and judicious. Ascending the Fox River they obtained guides to lead them through the maze of marshes and little Lakes between it and the River that gives name to your State. When, after aiding them at the portage, their guides departed, the explorers embarked on the waters which were to lead them into strange lands. They were indeed alone in an unknown country in the hands of Providence. This feeling led them to special acts of devotion. Scanning its banks with interest, they floated down amid vine-clad isles, the shores at times stretching away in broad prairies, then clustered with woods, or rising into charming hill-sides, where elk and deer looked up at the strangers.

"After forty leagues on this same route, we reached the mouth of our River," says Marquette, "and finding ourselves at forty-two and a half degrees north, we safely entered the Mississippi on the seventeenth of June, with a joy that I cannot express."

Thus was the Great River again reached by civilized man on the seventeenth day of June, 1673, just two centuries ago. And when we consider the event in the light of its influence, we feel how justly the State Historical Society of Wisconsin has deemed it one worthy of special honor on this bi-centennial anniversary.

A century and a half before, the Spaniards had recognized its mouth; Pamfilo de Narvaez, with his shattered host, saw its broad swollen volume of fresh water pouring out into the Gulf, and in vain endeavored to enter it. De Soto had reached its banks, had wandered along them, had crossed its rapid current, and was at last entombed in its waters, instead of the chapel in his far off Spanish home, where he had hoped to lie. Don Tristan de Luna, had bat-

tled with his Indian allies on its eastern shore, but he sought neither its source nor its mouth on the Gulf. Then the curtain descended, till Jolliet and Marquette raised it once more before the world.

As the current bore the explorers gently down, we can see them studying the scenery, the mountains on the right, the islands that dot its surface. At times they look northward toward the land of Lakes whence it issued. But it seemed a primeval wilderness; there is no trace of human habitation; day after day they paddle on, no bark but their own rippling the current of the River.

That current bears them on to a change of scene. Wood and mountain give place to the wide stretching prairie, with herds of elk and deer, with swans and wild geese; and, in pleasing contrast to the islands, are little groves of trees. Strange fish met their eyes as they drew their nets, and the silurus drove with force against the frail vessel. Thus they kept on in the channel of the River, landing at night-fall to prepare their meal, then anchoring well at a distance from the shore.

At what they calculated to be forty-one degrees twenty-eight minutes north, they came upon the bison country, and gazed in wonder on the vast herds that dotted the plains before them.

More than a week had the voyage continued, when they for the first time beheld an Indian trail on the shore. It was a critical moment. They had longed for fellowship with man, but that very intercourse might be fatal. Leaving their men with the canoes, the young envoy and the missionary silently followed the trail, till three Indian villages came in view. With a prayer in their hearts, they advanced till the sound of human speech, for the first time since leaving the Portage, fell upon their ear. Then they halted, and gave a cry to announce their presence. Out poured the Indians of the village to halt in their turn, and gaze upon the strange white men. Then four old warriors came gravely and slowly on with calumets of peace, halting at last to view Marquette and his companion more closely.

Then Marquette addressed them in Algonquin, asking who they were. They replied, "we are Illinois." If the dialect was not their own, they understood and extended the pipe of peace. These Peorias and Moingwenas welcomed the explorers with every mark of friendship, and the next day escorted them to their canoes, though strongly dissuading them from their dangerous attempt.

Encouraged by this first encounter, the explorers kept on past the rocks which the voyagers afterward called the Ruined Castles. When high up on a precipitous rock they were startled by a monstrous Indian painting, the dream of some chief in his time of probation, done with great labor, and so enduring that even in our century the handi-work of the aboriginal artist could still be traced.

Still borne on by the still clear, beautiful current of the Mississippi, they were roused by the voice of many waters. Pekitanoui, our Missouri, with all the impetuosity given by its countless affluents from the mountains, tearing away the banks in its course, and despite the groans of the spirits of the trees, whirling them along with all their centennial branches, down its muddy current. The explorers, with fear and wonder, saw these trophies of the Great Western River darting from its mouth like floating islands.

They knew of this River, and its name as they gave it was doubtless Illinois; but they learned more than its name. They had questioned as to its source, and ascertained that its banks were inhabited by many tribes, Osages, Missouris, Kansas, Omahas, Pawnees, and that its head-waters approached those of a river emptying into the gulf of California.

Wabookigoo (Wabash), our Ohio, was next passed; and then a dangerous whirlpool. Then the cane-brakes began and musquitoes.

A hostile demonstration by a tribe whom they do not name, Shawnees, perhaps, was soon appeased by the little party now grown bolder and more confident in their calumet. But a visit to their cabins inspired caution, as European articles, guns, hatchets, hoes, knives and trinkets proved them to be in constant intercourse, and warned the adventurers that they were approaching, in all probability, some Spanish post.

The prairie lands had now been succeeded by luxuriant forests of cottonwood, elm and whitewood. Embowered among them was a tribe which later joined the Illinois, the Michigameas, men of the Great Lake, who made a fierce onslaught on the party, endeavoring in their large wooden periaguas to cut off their escape; but were finally propitiated by the all potent calumet, the passport of the Mississippi. They even guided the explorers to the next tribe on the River bank, a tribe of Dacotah origin, but whom the Illinois, who drove them from the banks of the Ohio, named Arkanseas.

They were long known to the whites by that name, but in our times have recovered their original title of Quapaws. They received Marquette and Jolliet with every mark of honor, and Marquette found one of the tribe who spoke Illinois, so that he who had learned Algonquin on the lower St. Lawrence, was able to converse with him. From them he learned that they were ten days' journey from the sea; but the tribes below were hostile, and were in intercourse with whites.

While the tribe was deliberating whether to murder and rob them, the two explorers held their council to deliberate on the important question, whether they should push on, or rest satisfied with the discovery they had made. "After having attentively considered," says Marquette, "that we were not far from the gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is thirty-one degrees and forty minutes N, and we are at thirty-three degrees and forty minutes, so that we could not be more than two or three days journey off; that the mouth of the Mississippi was beyond all doubt in Florida or on the Gulf of Mexico, and not on the east in Virginia, whose sea coast is at thirty-four degrees N., which we had passed, without having as yet reached the sea, nor on the western side in California, because that would require a west or west-southwest course, and we had always kept going south. We considered moreover that we risked losing the fruit of this voyage, of which we should give no information, if we should throw ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who would undoubtedly hold us prisoners at the least. Moreover it was clear, that we were in no condition to resist Indians allied to Europeans, numerous and skilled in the use of fire arms, who continually infested the lower part of the River. Lastly, we had gathered all the information that could be desired from the expedition. All these reasons induced us to resolve to turn back. This we announced to the Indians, and after a few days' rest, prepared for it."

A month's sail on the River without seeing its source or reaching its mouth, this 'torso' of eleven hundred miles told what the whole would be.

On the seventeenth of July, just one month from the day when their canoes first began to glide down the current, they now began to stem it. The toil was great, but by entering the Illinois River, and stopping awhile among the Kaskaskias, they reached Green Bay in September.

They do not record their thoughts on the importance of their discovery; there is no self gratulation. They piously gave the River the name of Conception, which the world did not adopt, but which seemed a sort of historical propitiation of the names of De Soto, who wished to be buried in a chapel of that title. If they conversed of what France and Catholicity were to make of that mighty valley, ranging from the land of snows to the luxuriant tropics; if they beheld it studded with cities rivalling those of France, with all the institutions in which the church to which Father Marquette was so enthusiastically devoted, naturally finds its expansion, we cannot wonder. They doubtless believed that they had secured to France the very heart of the Continent.

They little knew, and we do not recognize, that a man whom history has always treated with scorn; but one far-sighted, industrious and capable, had already gained for England a new foothold on the Atlantic coast, stretched the Anglo-Saxon arm to grasp the Northwest, and begun the struggle, whose last campaign was opened by Washington on the Ohio, and closed by Wolfe at Quebec. James, Duke of York, James II., the last thoroughly English king, the only one who gave America more than a passing thought; who saw the vital importance to the Anglo-Saxon race of the province of New Netherland, and wrested it from the Dutch; who saw the necessity of controlling the Northwest and laid out the policy that secured it. James II., by the American policy, made the mighty result of Jolliet and Marquette's work, only a passing benefit to France.

Yet, if as patriots, the vision of two centuries later would not cheer them, they would at least not see the hated flag of England float over the scene of their exploration. If the lilies of the Bourbons have passed away, the cross of St. George has disappeared; a banner which France helped to plant firmly on American soil, is alone recognized to-day in the valley of the Mississippi—the flag of the United States.

Marquette, devoted to his church and the Virgin Immaculate would gaze with satisfaction at least, that in cities that had arisen on the banks of the River of the Conception, there are Archbishops and Bishops of his church, colleges of his order, convents and institutions of many other communities in his church; though perhaps he would blush to hear that an American prelate was proud

to be called Bishop of Marquette. And if they looked towards the old capital of New France; if they beheld you celebrating their discovery near where they reached the Great River, and at the same time Quebec putting on her gala attire to honor the devoted Marquette, and her own noble son, Louis Jolliet, how consoling would it be to them to see that in the person of the Archbishop of that old Catholic city, the Most Reverend E. A. Taschereau, they beheld not only the successor of the illustrious Laval, but the lineal descendant of Louis Jolliet, and in fact the representative of that discoverer.

Jolliet and Marquette did their work, simply, modestly and without ostentation. Then the priest assumed his missionary labors, soon to die by the Lake side, while returning from a mission among the Illinois, which only the most intrepid zeal could have prompted. Jolliet, after wintering at Green Bay, hastened to Quebec, to report to the authorities. In a letter recently brought to light, written October tenth, 1674, he says: "It is not long since I returned from my south sea voyage. I was fortunate during all that time, but on my way back, just as I was about to land at Montreal, my canoe capsized and I lost two men, with my chest containing all my papers and my journal, with some curiosities from these remote countries. I greatly regretted a little slave ten years old who had been presented to me. He was endowed with a good disposition, full of talent, diligent and obedient; he made himself understood in French, and began to read and write.

"I was saved after being four hours in the water, having lost sight and consciousness, by some fishermen who never went in that place, and who would not have been there, had not the Blessed Virgin obtained this grace for me from God, who arrested the course of nature to rescue me from death. But for this accident, your lordship would have received quite a curious relation, but nothing is left me except my life." He then briefly describes the result of his voyage.

The Count of Frontenac, on the fourteenth of November, in a dispatch to Colbert announced the successful issue of Jolliet's expedition.

They had to wait for full details till the account drawn up by Father Marquette, should be sent down. This came down at last, but was not officially published, and did not see the light till 1681,

when Thevenot issued it in a volume of travels, adopting some careless copy that had reached his hand.

The son of the American colonists had no friends at Court, the Jesuits were no longer in favor; all contributed to bury in oblivion the labors of the two explorers. Most of all, however, the result was influenced by the career of a more brilliant explorer. Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, was of an aristocratic family; he was a courtier at the petty court of the lordly Frontenac. He was not above somewhat mean work in the service of his patron, but he loved the grand airs of a seigneur, and was full of vast projects.

Following the path of the modest explorers Jolliet and Marquette, he reached Illinois in 1680, and finally descended the Mississippi to the Gulf in 1682. Unlike Jolliet, he had solicited letters of nobility, a coat of arms, he travelled with his valet and personal retinue, his lieutenants, soldiers, a body of clergymen, whose number was justified by no actual want, indeed with all the pomp of the old Spanish adelantados.

His companions caught his contemptuous style, and in the writings of the Recollects were first thrown out insinuations against the reality of the discovery of Marquette and Jolliet.

To rob them of their well earned laurels seems in some minds a positive necessity. In our day Mr. Margry, an industrious French delver into the archives at Paris, has in behalf of his fellow Norman, La Salle, attempted to deprive Marquette and Jolliet of the honor you recognize as theirs, by setting up that La Salle had already discovered the River.

For years on very grave statements he maintained that La Salle descended the Ohio to the Mississippi before Jolliet reached it through the Wisconsin. Forced at last from this position by the intrinsic and extrinsic testimony against it, he seems now to maintain that La Salle reached the Mississippi by the Illinois prior to Jolliet. The testimony to favor his later view is even more shadowy than what seemed to lend color to his Ohio dream. He has led writers into the wild path of conjecture on conjecture based. The superficial Gravier echoes his charges as if gospel truth; the pages of our own Parkman, as diligent in research as he is eloquent in picturing the result, show the malign influence of Margry.

Taken with the character of LaSalle, whom he makes his hero, he gives scant praise to Jolliet, in every way a superior man, so far

as actual service to the country was concerned. Of Jolliet he says: "He appears to have been simply a merchant, intelligent, well educated, courageous, hardy, and enterprising." Though in his note he adds: "He seems to have been a man of close and intelligent observation. His mathematical acquirements appear to have been very considerable."

Honesty is not ascribed to him, but he was not only honest, but modest and free from envy. The statements of a document drawn up from conversations by an unknown hand, teeming with prejudice, may be read for amusement, but can hardly out weigh in historical value positive documents.

Jolliet was a map-maker; we have his maps of the Mississippi as drawn up by Franquelin, the royal hydrographer, who evidently did not know of LaSalle's pretended prior discovery; we have maps in his own hand in which Jolliet gives LaSalle credit for attempting to reach Mexico by way of the Ohio; we have Jolliet's map of the St. Lawrence, the result of long and frequent explorations; and we have his map of the route to Hudson Bay.

His very maps have been pressed into the service to destroy his claims. Mr. Parkman says: "I have also another manuscript map made before the voyage of Jolliet and Marquette, and apparently in the year 1673, in which the Ohio is represented to a point a little below Louisville, and over it is written, '*Riviere Ohio, ainsy appellee par les Iroquois a cause de sa beaute, par on le Sieur de la Salle est descendu.*' The Mississippi is not represented on this map; but—and this is very significant as indicating the extent of La Salle's explorations of the following year—a small portion of the upper Illinois is laid down." Elsewhere he says: "This map was evidently made before the voyage of Jolliet and Marquette, and after that voyage of La Salle in which he discovered the Illinois, or at least the Des Plaines branch of it. It shows that the Mississippi was known to discharge itself into the Gulf before Jolliet had explored it."

But this map, though it does not show the Mississippi, alludes to it by the name of River Colbert, the name conferred at the time La Salle descended it. Mr. Harris, searching for the original at Paris, found in the archives a map answering the description given by our illustrious historian, bearing the same names and the same

legends or notes, but so far from its proving a document to overthrow the claim of Jolliet and Marquette, it proves how little envy there was in Louis Jolliet. "The map," says Harris, "is the work of Louis Jolliet himself, for the section we have before us is traced in his hand." Jolliet, who had himself ascended the Illinois, is thus by ante-dating his own map of La Salle's later journey, made to bear witness against himself.

Frontenac, in one of his passionate dispatches, speaks slightly of Jolliet; but that man left it to time to do him justice, and in his later letters Frontenac does him justice. Jolliet became King's hydrographer; and received a grant of Anticosti island. He did not seek fame in the military career, or empty honors. His life was that of a pure, high-minded, upright man of extensive views and cultivated mind. He died apparently in the last year of the seventeenth century.

Father Marquette had long previously preceded him to the tomb, dying, as you know, on the banks of Lake Michigan, whence his remains were removed to Michilimackinac.

Their character dimmed by prejudice and envy, and clouded by indiscreet zeal for La Salle, stands higher now than ever, and the Wisconsin Historical Society honors itself in honoring the worthy son of the Quebec wheel-wright, the explorer of the Mississippi.

The subject tempts me to picture what American energy has done in the last century for the Mississippi Valley. Where Marquette and Jolliet sailed for days without meeting a token of human existence, all is now resonant with the busy hum of civilized life. The Great Valley then tenanted by a few thousand red men, has now a population of twenty three millions, and produces food for millions without number: its rich mineral resources are developed, your own State by no means the last, as it is foremost in energy and in scientific research, in zeal for the future, and love for the past.

Memoir of Charles de Langlade.

BY JOSEPH TASSE, ESQ., OTTAWA, CANADA.

[Translated from the French, by Mrs. SARAH FAIRCHILD DEAN.]

Among the numerous memoirs published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, concerning the primitive epoch of the Northwest, is a very interesting narrative, full of curious and stirring episodes, under the title of "Seventy-two Years' Recollections of Wisconsin."

This account embraces nearly three-quarters of a century. The narrator was engaged, during many years, in the fur trade, which yielded him a reasonable competency. Afterwards he retired to Butte des Morts, in the State of Wisconsin, where he died at a very advanced age. It was to that place that Mr. Lyman C. Draper, author of many historical works, went to find Captain Grignon, then almost an octogenarian, and gathered from his own lips these precious reminiscences, which, without him, would probably have been lost to history. This visit of Mr. Draper was made in 1857. Augustin Grignon enjoyed at that time, spite of the frosts of age, a health still robust, a rare fidelity of memory; and to the simple habits of the olden time, he joined polished and agreeable manners, dividing his leisure between reading and the pleasures of fishing and hunting.

The memoir of Grignon comprises a hundred printed pages, and has the great merit of bringing to light men and facts before unknown, and often of considerable importance. The persons whom he introduces upon the pages of history, are almost all from among the Canadians, whom love of lucre or passion for adventures, had attracted, at an early day, in great numbers, to the unexplored

regions of the West. Many of them, assuredly, do not merit the oblivion which seems reserved for them; but none is more entitled to our sympathy and admiration than Charles de Langlade. For he was not only one of the first pioneers of the West, but also one of the most courageous defenders of the French cause in Canada.

Grignon had most of the facts which he recounts directly from the mouth of this Canadian hero, his illustrious ancestor, which gives them more than ordinary interest. One might, it is true, doubt the impartiality of his recital if it had not been proven that Langlade has diminished, rather than exaggerated, the importance of the *role* played by himself. We have been able to complete and correct this memoir in more than one respect, and we esteem ourselves fortunate in having been permitted to contribute to the restoration to history of a name, not the less glorious for having been long forgotten.

The Langlade family, at first known by the name of Mouet de Maras, came originally from Castel Sarasin, in Basse Guyenne, France. Pierre Mouet, landlord of Maras, ensign in a company in the regiment of Carignan, the ancestor of so many Canadian families, settled in 1668 at Three Rivers. His children were seven sons and two daughters, namely: Pierre, Jacques, Rene, Louis, surnamed *Sieur de la Borde*, Michel, Joseph, Marie, Madeleine, and Therese. The eldest, Pierre, was also an ensign in the army. His residence was Three Rivers; and, by his marriage with Elizabeth Jutras, he had several children, whose baptismal names were: Marie, Francoise, Marie Josette, Jean Baptiste, Marie Marguerite, Didace, Augustin, and Isabelle.

Augustin was born at Three Rivers in the month of September, 1703. Hence Grignon's memoir errs in stating that Augustin first saw light in France, that he early served in the French army, and that he probably through the example of many relatives who had enlisted, he decided to go and seek his fortune in Canada.* He was the first who bore the name "*Sieur de Langlade*,"† which con-

*We venture to make this correction of the *Dictionnaire Genealogique des Familles Canadiennes*, by the Rev. M. Tanguay, and of the Registers (1695-1761) of the former mission of Mackinaw; and for the information enabling me to do so, I am indebted to the Rev. E. Jucker, missionary at St. Ignace, Michigan.

†His name was written by the Mackinaw missionaries in the "*Registers of estates*," with the following variations: M. d'Anglade, M. de l'Anglade, M. Langlade, M. Augustin Mouet de l'Anglade, M. Augustin Mouet, M. Augustin de Langlade, Messire Augustin de l'Anglade, Messire Augustin Maras de Langlade; but Augustin de Langlade's signature was invariably LANGLADE.

tinued thereafter attached to the family of which he became the head.

Augustin de Langlade engaged early in the fur trade, and to that end settled at Mackinaw, or Michillimakinac.* This post was then a very important one in that business. It was the principal station where the tribes of the West came to exchange the products of the chase for European merchandise. The savages had, moreover, a profound respect for this island, which they regarded as the favorite abode of their Manitous. It was indeed worthy to be the resort of their spirits, for it is extremely picturesque, and has been appropriately called by tourists the "Venice of the Lakes."

Augustin de Langlade established a considerable commerce in peltry; and, for this purpose, he obtained, according to usage, a license from the French Government. He married at Mackinaw, Domitilde, widow of Daniel Villeneuve, the sister of the principal chief of the Ottawas, the king Nis-so-wa-quet,† called by the Canadians La Fourche—The Fork; and this alliance contributed not a little to give him great influence over that numerous tribe.

Madam Langlade, by her marriage with Daniel Villeneuve, had had several children: Daniel, Anne, Marie Louise Therese, Jean Baptiste, Agathe, Constant Stanislas. Daniel was born in September, 1712; Anne, on the eighth of April, 1735, was married to Antoine Guyari, and again in 1745 to one B. Blondeau; Marie Louise Therese, on the second of October, 1736, at the age of sixteen, married Claude Germain Gautier de Vierville—concerning a son of this marriage, more hereafter. Agathe, born in February, 1724, was married to M. Souigny, a severe and cruel man. She survived him, subsequently marrying Amable Grignon, and died at Green Bay at a great age, leaving no children. The Grignon memoir erroneously affirms that these children were the fruit of the marriage of Augustin de Langlade and Madam Villeneuve, and that Agathe was the eldest. Charles Michel de Langlade was born at Mackinaw, near the beginning of May, 1729—not 1724, as the Grignon narrative states—and was baptized on the ninth day of that month.

Thus isolated from civilization, our young islander was enabled, meantime, to gather other knowledge than that ordinarily ac-

* These are various forms of this savage name: Michillmakina, Michillimakinac, Michillimakenac, Michilimakina, Michiliakimawk, Michilinaquina, Miscilemackina, Miselimackinack, Misilemakinak, Missilimakina, Missilimakinac, Missilimakinak, Missilimaquina, Missilimaquinak.

† The Mackinaw Registers say Nissaouakouad.

quired under the itinerant wigwam; a successor to Pere Marquette, probably Father Du Jaunay,* gave him lessons, and commenced his education. If circumstances were unfavorable to the completion of his mental culture, he could at least have his belligerent instincts awakened at a very early age, and enter upon the stern avocation of war.

A singular circumstance gave him an opportunity to assist in a serious engagement, at an age when the noise of arms, ordinarily, inspires only fear. In 1734, the Ottawas became engaged in a struggle with a savage tribe allied to the English. Twice the "young men" had attempted the assault, and twice they had been repulsed. The French commandant at Mackinaw vainly solicited them to renew the attack; they obstinately refused. At last, the great chief La Fourche, like all savages—superstitious, believed himself to have seen in a dream that the enemy could only be put to rout by having young Langlade accompany the expedition. Entreaties were urged with the father, who permitted his son to join the Ottawas; but like Chevalier Bayard in the olden time, the young hero was pledged never to dishonor him in the "train des armes." The Ottawas full of new confidence, rushed with ardor to attack the village of the enemy, which they took possession of with the terrible war whoop used by the savages in combat. Many scalps were secured and brought back to ornament the huts of the victors.

This lad was evidently protected by some powerful Manitou; as the Ottawas only took up the war hatchet when they were accompanied by some one whom the spirits protected. This fact explains the remarkable influence which he had from the very first over this tribe, always so friendly to France.

The Grignon memoir says that Augustin and Charles de Langlade, about 1745, removed from Mackinaw to the Bay des Puants,†

* The Jesuit missionaries who at this period resided at Mackinaw, were Father Du Jaunay and Father C. G. Coquar. It appears by the post-register that Father J. B. Lamannie preached there in 1741, 1747, and 1752. Fathers Le Franc and Du Jaunay seemed to have lived in Mackinaw without interruption from 1743 even to 1760, or later.

† The "Relation des Jesuites," 1698, contains the following on the subject of "Baie des Puants:" "A peninsula, or very narrow neck of land, separates Lake Superior from another lake, which we call the "Lac des Puants"—Lake of Bad Odors—which also empties into our fresh water sea, by a mouth which is on the other side of the peninsula, about ten leagues further west than the Sault. This third Lake extends between the west and southwest; that is to say, from the north to the west, more towards the west, and is almost as large as our Lake, and is inhabited by other people of an unknown tongue—that is, neither Algonquin nor Huron. This people are called "les Puants," not by reason of any bad odor peculiar to them, but because they claim to have come from the shores of a far distant Lake towards the north, whose waters are salt. They call themselves the people "de l'eau puante"—of the putrid or bad water.

known now by the less prosaic name of Green Bay. This statement seems to us doubtful, for the Mackinaw registers appear to show that the Langlades continued in that island till it came into the hands of the British. It is possible, however, that they resided alternately in both places where they had trading establishments. According to the memoir above mentioned, the Langlades had first pitched their tents on Fox River, and thus became the principal proprietors of the neighboring soil, then covered with dense forests as far as the eye could reach. Around them settled de Souigny, a savage Menomonee chief, called by the Canadians M. Caron, and some half-breeds. Such was the infancy of the State of Wisconsin—such the first civilizing movement in these solitary forests.

These new colonists were tolerably well received by the savages, who roved in the neighborhood. Only the tribe commanded by a chief named Te-pak-e-ne-nee, who lived some miles distant, on the spot where now stands the village of Marinette or Menomonee, sometimes threatened to seize the stores of Langlade, in order to induce him to give him and his associates presents. But Langlade, not easily moved, contented himself with replying to those who made the threats: "My friends, if you come here to be thrashed, we can measure our strength on the other side of the River, and there give you the pleasure you seek." The savages who knew the courage of Langlade, were careful to withdraw the provocation.

This same Te-pak-e-ne-nee had, sometime afterwards, a quarrel with a trader named St. Germain, at the mouth of Menomonee River, and stabbed him mortally. This crime did not go unpunished. Upon returning from a journey to the Upper Mississippi, he had a difference with an Indian, who ended arguments by coolly lodging a ball in his head.

About this time, a blacksmith named Amiot, of French origin, came to settle in Green Bay, and carry on his trade. An Indian, Ish-qua-ke-ta, having one day given him a hatchet to mend, came a little while after to claim his utensil, offering to Amiot, as was the custom, a skin as the price of his work. The latter, it appears, had not a very faithful memory, and denied that the savage had left with him a hatchet to be repaired. The savage replied vehemently, claiming his hatchet with loud cries. Losing patience, Amiot seized him by the neck, and burned him frightfully with his red-hot tongs. The Indian, wild with rage, dealt him in turn a stroke

of the hatchet on the head, which stretched him unconscious. The savage instantly repaired to Langlade to announce to him the terrible act of vengeance to which he had been hurried. "I have killed the blacksmith," he said. "Why have you done that?" replied Langlade. "Why? See here how he burned me! I did it to defend myself!"

Langlade ran to the shop of Amiot, to aid him if not too late. On his arrival, the blacksmith still breathed; but he was frightfully wounded. Langlade had him carried to the house where he lived, and confided him to the care of an Indian woman who claimed skill in medicine.

Thanks to the treatment of this woman of the forest, Amiot regained his strength rapidly, and his recovery was certain, when one day a brother of the cruel Te-pak-e-ne-nee succeeded in introducing himself into his room under pretense of desiring to see the sick man. Entering the apartment, the Indian went close to Amiot, and, with a blow from his knife, put an end to his days. The Indian woman who had Amiot under her care, having demanded the reason of his crime, he replied that he had taken pity on the blacksmith, and that he wanted to put an end to his sufferings.

The inhabitants of Green Bay did not see it in the same light, and would at once have made him expiate his crime; but he, foreseeing the fate which awaited him, fled to some distant region. The murderer waited till calm was restored, when he returned to the Bay, where he shortly after perished in a drunken affray. Strange to tell, his assassin was at almost the same time mortally stricken by the knife of another Indian. It was a renewed and terrible application of those words of the Book of Wisdom—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

The Outagamies or Foxes were established at this epoch, at the Little Butte des Morts, on the west bank of Fox River, about thirty-seven miles from Green Bay. In imitation of the Ottawas, who claim possession of the River of that name, they required pay from every canoe that went up or down that stream. As soon as they perceived a craft, they lighted a torch at the top of their post of observation, to indicate to the *voyageurs* that they must approach the shore and pay the exacted tribute. To refuse compliance with

this imposition, was to expose themselves to the discontent of the Foxes, and to acts of pillage.

For a long time this exaction weighed upon the traders, who complained many times to the commandants of the Western posts, and even to the Governor of Canada. But, their representations not having had any effect, Captain Morand, of French origin, and one of the principal traders of the country, finally decided to organize an expedition against them, which had the effect to drive them from their villages, to kill a great number, and to crowd them away into the forest.

The Sacs, who had killed Captain de Villiers, commandant of the little garrison at Green Bay, in a difficulty which he had with them, were also severely punished. Charles de Langlade at the head of the inhabitants of Green Bay, took an active part in the campaign which was made with a view to avenging the death of this French officer.

While Charles de Langlade thus exhibited his courage in the obscure combats of tribe against tribe, events in Canada were becoming complicated, and threatened to take a serious turn. Grave difficulties had arisen between France and England in Acadia, and the Valley of the Ohio, on the subject of the frontier boundaries; and although peace still existed, there had even already been some bloody encounters in the wilderness, and it was evident that on either side the first occasion would be seized to come to blows. Thus, the killing of a French officer, M. de Jumonville, sent as an envoy to Washington, at the head of thirty soldiers, for the purpose of summoning the English to evacuate entrenchments raised by them near the Ohio, was the signal for that long and terrible seven years war which kindled the fires of two Continents, and led to consequences so disastrous to France.

Vaudreuil, Governor of the Colony, took the necessary measures to cope with the enemy, and hastened to arm the regular troops, and the Canadian militia. The savages of the North-West, joined to the *coureurs de bois*, so numerous at that time, also furnished a valuable contingent; and he, without hesitation, confided this command to Charles de Langlade, whose exploits were already well-known to him. United to the savages by the ties of blood, by similarity of habit, familiar with their dialects, and with their modes of warfare, of acknowledged bravery and ability, enjoying unques-

tionable authority and influence, Langlade was exactly the man for the situation.*

At his appeal, the tomahawk is unearthed, the tribes incite themselves with enthusiasm, and a crowd of savage warriors gather around the folds of the French flag. We find at the head of these Indian bands many celebrated chiefs; among others, it is believed, the famous Pontiac, who some years later became illustrious by his conspiracy against the English.

After organizing his forces, Langlade received orders to direct his steps with all haste towards Fort Duquesne, of which General Braddock, recently arrived from England with veteran troops, was about to attempt to acquire possession in order to drive the French out of the Valley of the Ohio.

Langlade arrived at Fort Duquesne in the beginning of July, 1755. Le Sieur de la Perade, as well as some French and Indians, sent to observe the hostile army whose least movements were watched, announced on the eighth of July that it was only a half day's journey from the Monongahela—the *Malenguentee* of the Canadians—and that it was advancing in three columns. On the receipt of these tidings, the commandant at Fort Duquesne decided to oppose the advance of the enemy; and, for this purpose, De Beaujeu organized a force of about two hundred and fifty French, and six hundred and fifty Indians.

Leaving the fort on the ninth of July, at nine o'clock in the morning, De Beaujeu found himself at half past twelve in the presence of the English, just at the instant when they halted on the south shore of the Monongahela, to take their dinner. The French and Indians had not yet been perceived by the enemy; and they placed themselves carefully in ambush in the ravines and thick woods, which formed an impassable belt on the steep bank in front of them.†

Langlade comprehended at once all the advantages of the position, and hastened to de Beaujeu to beg him to commence the action; but that officer turned a deaf ear to his entreaties. Unwilling thus to relinquish his purpose, he then called together the

*By a paper in the Mackinaw register, dated March 28, 1750, we see that Langlade was then a cadet in the army.

† This detail of the Grignon account is confirmed by the relation of M. de Godefroy, an "officer in the Fort Duquesne garrison." "The party of M. de Beaujeu advanced for attack about three and a half leagues from Fort Duquesne, where the enemy were at dinner." This memoir has been published by Mr. John G. Shea in his "Relations divers sur la bataille du Malangueule."

Indian chiefs, showed them the importance of an immediate attack upon the English, and advised them to go and demand an order to commence battle. De Beaujeu gave them a no more satisfactory reply. Langlade then made a second appeal to the French commander, and insisted energetically upon the necessity of an immediate attack upon the enemy. "If we are going to fight," he said, "we must do it while the English, not suspecting danger, have laid aside their arms, or when they are fording the River, for they are too far superior in numbers for us to resist them in open country." De Beaujeu was evidently discouraged by the strength of the enemy, and hesitated what course to take; but finally putting an end to his indecision, he ordered the attack.

The action commenced with vigor, and took the army of Braddock by surprise. Officers and soldiers ran to their arms with such precipitation that many of the leaders still had their napkins on their breasts when found among the dead. As they occupied lower ground than the French, they fired over their heads, and only hit a small number. The French and Indians, meanwhile, concealed behind the trees were, so to speak, invisible; and they returned the fire of the enemy by a terrible fusillade, which scattered death and consternation among the English battalions. At last the soldiers of Braddock took flight, and both the Canadians and Indians charged upon them with tomahawks, forcing them to throw themselves into the waters of the Monongahela, where many of them were drowned.

This was a disastrous day for the English. Braddock, who wished to make war after the European manner in the forests of the Ohio, and had been unwilling to take advice from any one, paid for his temerity with his life, and the loss of the largest part of his army. The bodies of some hundred soldiers, and many officers, strewed the battle field, and immense booty fell into the hands of the French.* Had it not been for the Virginia Militia, commanded by Washington, protecting the retreat of the fragments of the English army, that portion of the Savages who did not loiter to

* There were counted dead on the battle-field six hundred men; on the retreat about four hundred; along a little stream three hundred. Their total loss was reckoned at twelve hundred and seventy; other accounts place it at one thousand, fifteen hundred, and even seventeen hundred. The wounded were abandoned, and almost all perished in the woods. Of one hundred and sixty officers, only six escaped. Several pieces of artillery were taken; also, a hundred covered wagons, the military chest, and the effects of the officers, who were well equipped. The last was the booty of the Savages and Canadians.—*Memoires des Pouchot*, vol. 1, p. 37.

'pillage the dead, would not in all probability have spared a solitary soldier to tell the story of their sanguinary defeat.*

The French did not lose thirty men, and the most of these were killed not by the English balls, but by the branches of the trees which sheltered them, and which were violently torn off by the fire of the enemy's artillery. This victory was the more brilliant because the French had only an inferior force with which to oppose the army of Braddock, numbering at least two thousand men, which constrained Washington to say: "We have been beaten, shamefully beaten, by a handful of Frenchmen."

After the route of the English, Langlade took energetic measures to prevent the savages from seizing the stores of liquors belonging to the enemy; for, once under the influence of the liquid fire, they might have been carried to excesses which would have tarnished the glory of a day so fortunate. Frustrated in their attempt, the Indians set about searching the bodies of the English dead, lying by hundreds on the bloody field. Many of the officers wore rich uniforms, and they despoiled them of every valuable article they might have upon them.

Besides the Indians, many Canadians took part in the combat under the command of Langlade; among others, his brother-in-law, Souigny, his nephew, Gautier de Vierville, Pierre Queret, La Choisie, La Fortune, Amable de Gere, Philip de Rocheblave, and Louis Hamelin. All won, by their brave conduct, the congratulations of their chief.

The Indians were not alone in their desire to despoil the vanquished. La Choisie having found on the battle-field the body of an English officer dressed in a rich uniform, Philip de Rocheblave claimed to have discovered it at the same moment. The former took possession of the well-filled purse of the officer; but the latter maintained loudly that he had an equal right to it, and they separated after exchanging more than one bitter word. However it may have been, La Choisie was assassinated during the following night, and the purse disputed with him by de Rocheblave was not found upon him. Quite naturally the tragical end of La Choisie

* The route became general. All the English took to flight, carrying with them their wounded General. Terror seized even those who had taken no part in this combat. Dunbar's army encamped nearly twenty leagues from the field of action, deserted their camp and joined the fugitives, who did not stop till they reached Fort Cumberland, the longest flight on record. The French pursued the English till fear of some ambuscade made them retrace their steps, for they had no suspicion that they had struck their foes with so great a panic.—Notice of Daniel Hyacinthe Marie Lienard de Beaujeu, by John G. Shea.

was attributed to de Rocheblave, but his guilt could not be established. De Rocheblave was the uncle of Pierre de Rochblave, who became one of the most important members of the North-Western Fur Company, and had a seat in the old Legislative Assembly at Quebec.

Many of the details now given are not to be found in any of the writers who have recounted the battle of the Monongahela. They are neither recorded in the elaborate narrative of Winthrop Sargent, author of "History of Braddock's Expedition," nor in the official reports collected in the archives of the Minister of War, at Paris.

One might be surprised at the decisive part taken by Langlade in this battle, one of the most remarkable in American history; but the numerous proofs given by him of military genius, the similar brilliant services which he would have rendered some years later at the siege of Quebec, if only his urgent advice had been taken, as we shall see further on, make it evident that it is not impossible that the honor of this victory belongs entirely to Langlade.

Langlade is not, however, alone in affirming that he took an important part in this battle. An English general, and an English officer, writing some years afterwards, affirm that Langlade alone could claim the merit of this brilliant triumph. Thomas Anburey, an officer in the army of General Burgoyne, wrote in 1777 from the borders of Lake Champlain: We are expecting the Ottawas. They are led by M. de Saint Luc and M. de Langlade, both great partisans of the French cause in the last war; *the latter is the person who, at the head of the tribe which he now commands, planned and executed the defeat of General Braddock.**

Burgoyne, the unfortunate commander of the aforesaid army, expressed himself in a no less formal manner, in a letter to Lord George Germain, dated Skenesborough, July the eleventh, 1777: "I am informed," says he, "that the Ottawas and other Indian tribes, who are two days march from us, are brave and faithful, and that they practice war and not pillage. They are under the orders of a M. Saint Luc, a Canadian of merit, and one of the best partisans of the French cause during the last war, and of a M. de Langlade, the very man who with these tribes projected and executed Braddock's defeat.†

* Journey in the Interior of North America; London edition, 1791, Vol. I, p. 315.

† State of the Expedition from Canada, p. 10.

It will be remarked that these two passages just cited, were written many days before the arrival of Langlade in the camp of Burgoyne, and that consequently he cannot be accused of having inspired them. Burgoyne and Anburey point out the decisive part taken by Langlade in the victory of the Monongahela as a fact fully recognized by the English military, at a time when it was easy to be well informed in regard to the conduct of each person in the then late war.

Pouchot, an officer of the French army, says in his Memoirs:* "The battle of the Monongahela was the most fierce and glorious in which savages ever engaged, and to them we ought to give the glory of it owing to their unerring fire."

If the savages greatly aided the French troops in gaining this brilliant victory, should not we attribute a large part of their success to their principal commander—Langlade?

In respect to Beaujeu, it is only just to mention, that the other accounts of the battle of Monongahela represented him in a more favorable light than the preceding recital.

According to one of them †he had been obliged, before leaving Fort Duquesne, to go to meet Braddock's army, to contend with the fears of the Indians, who hesitated to march against an enemy superior in numbers, and he encouraged them to follow him by these energetic words: "I am determined to go and meet the enemy: What! will you allow your father to go alone? I am sure to conquer them." He was prepared for death by receiving the holy communion with a party of his soldiers the evening before the battle; and he had shown great courage and rare skill as a commander, not losing a single instant in commencing the attack, and falling mortally wounded at the first fire of the enemy. After the death of Beaujeu, Dumas, his lieutenant, took command of the troops, and at their head bravely finished the victory already commenced.

Other narratives‡ of the battle are full of the same representa-

* Vol. 1, p. 37.

†Relation from the time the forces left Quebec up to the 30th of September, 1755, in the Archives of the Minister of War at Paris.

‡We read in a *Relation du combat du 9 Juillet, 1755*, preserved in the archives of the Minister of War at Paris, the following details of the victory at Monongahela: "M. de Beaujeu made the attack with such spirit, that the enemy, who awaited us in the best possible order, seemed amazed; but when their artillery, charged with cartridges, began to fire, our troops were shaken in their turn. The Indians also, terrified by the noise of the cannon, rather than by the mischief they produced, began to lose ground. When M. de Beaujeu was killed, M. Dumas immediately set about re-animating his detachment; he ordered the

tions. However that may be, it seems certain that, without wishing to strip from de Beaujeu and Dumas the glory which properly belongs to them, we may claim for Langlade a large share of this brilliant victory.*

After the defeat of Braddock, Langlade probably returned to Green Bay, and then went back again the following year to enter the service at Fort Duquesne. We possess few details on this subject; but we know on the ninth of August, 1756, Dumas, commander at Fort Duquesne, sent him secretly at the head of a certain number of French and Indians, to ascertain whether the English were making a movement in the direction of the Ohio. Dumas' order is couched in the following terms: "Dumas, Chevalier of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry; Commandant of the Ohio and its tributaries: It is ordered that Sieur Langlade, Ensign of Infantry, start at the head of a detachment of French and Indians, to go in the direction of Fort Cumberland.

"In case the savages prefer to quit the great highway, Sieur Langlade will, with the French, detach himself from them, in order to follow them; the principal object of his mission being to examine if the enemy is making any movement in those parts.

"He will march with caution and distrust, to avoid all surprises and any ambushade. If he strike in conjunction with his Indian allies, he will employ all his talent to prevent them from the exercise of any cruelty upon those who may fall into their hands.

"Done at Fort Duquesne, the ninth of August, 1756."

A little time after, Dumas confided to him a new expedition, with instructions to approach the English frontier and endeavor to capture some soldier of the enemy, in order to obtain information of their intentions.

Langlade succeeded in approaching near to a fort of the enemy, and taking, under cover of the night, a sentinel prisoner, who acknowledged that an English officer was expected to arrive at that post in a few minutes, with a

officers who led the savages, by extending themselves from each wing, to take the enemy on the flank, at the same time that himself, Monsieur de Lignery, and the other officers in command of the French, would attack the front. This order was executed so promptly, that the enemy, already in the act of shouting, 'Long live the King,' had all they could do to defend themselves. The combat was obstinate on both sides, and success for a long time doubtful; but at last the enemy gave way. The rout was complete. * * * Such success, which could not reasonably be expected, in view of the inequality of the forces, is the fruit of the experience of Monsieur Dumas, and of the activity and bravery of the officers under his orders."

*In a note in De Peyster's Miscellanies, reference is made to Langlade as a "French officer who had been instrumental in defeating General Braddock."

considerable sum of money. Unwilling to permit the escape of such a prize, Langlade placed himself with some men in ambush close to the road by which the bearer of this precious deposit must pass. It was in winter. Suddenly steps were heard upon the frozen snow. It was the guard, who preceded the sleigh of the officer in charge of the treasure. The ambuscade passed, Langlade and a French officer sprang to the horses' heads, to arrest their course; but the inopportune bark of a dog having given the alarm, the English officer, suspecting an ambush, instantly turned back. Langlade threw himself at once into the vehicle, driven along at a full gallop, and vainly essayed to gain the mastery of the English officer. The latter drew his pistol, and pointed it at his assailant. Langlade seized the weapon, and averted its deadly aim. The officer, in his desperation, lashed alternately his horses and the bleeding shoulders of Langlade, who, finding it too hot for him, leaped precipitately from the sled, uttering maledictions upon his discomfiture. Langlade enjoyed relating this incident in his military career; and, after the war, he frequently met the English officer in question, with whom he liked to laugh over the recollection of his misadventure.

In 1757, Langlade came down from the West at the head of several hundred Indians, to strengthen the forces of Montcalm, then on the eve of becoming more seriously engaged.* He took part in the grand council held at Montreal during the summer, in which the tribes of the West declared to M. de Vaudreuil, that they were ready to obey his wishes, and to march to the destruction of Fort George. The English were entrenched in that stronghold, situated on the border of Lake George, and it was important to destroy it, in order to prevent their incursions upon the Canadian frontier.

It is known by a letter from Montcalm dated July twenty-fifth, 1757, that Langlade took part in a rather important expedition previous to the taking of Fort George, which had the best results. "The Ottawas that I have sent to the Lake shore," says he, "had conceived the project of making an attack on the English barges; where Messieurs de Corbiere, de Langlade, Hertel de Chambly, de

* Montcalm in a letter of July, 1757, mentioned their arrival near Fort George in the following terms: "Last month a thousand savages arrived from the upper country, many of whom came four and five hundred leagues. It is no small task to make the tedious sojourn of troops like these profitable."

Chevalier de Meloises, and La Chapelle* were sent with them. They remained in ambush all day yesterday and during the night. At break of day, the English appeared on the Lake to the number of twenty-two barges, including two skiffs. Their detachment numbered three hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Parker, who was at the head of the Jersey regiment in place of Col. Schuyler taken prisoner at Oswego. The yells of our savages so filled them with terror, that they made but feeble resistance. Only two barges were saved, all the rest being taken or sunk. The Indians brought away six, which will be very useful to us. I have here one hundred and fifty-one prisoners of whom eight are officers; a hundred and sixty were killed, drowned or put to the torture. M. de Corbiere commanded this detachment. This affair cost us one Indian slightly wounded."

Montcalm vigorously pushed the works necessary to the attack upon Fort George, and he fully recognized the value of the active co-operation given him by the Indians at this juncture. Fort George was admirably situated to defend itself advantageously; but such was the ardor of the besiegers that it was obliged to capitulate, after several days resistance, in the beginning of August, 1757.

Unhappily, the Indians by some excesses, detracted from the value of the services which they had rendered to the French army. For, on the day after the capitulation, when the English quitted the fort, to be confined in the entrenchments which had been assigned them, the Indians threw themselves upon the prisoners, uttering loud yells, and massacred more than fifty of them, in spite of the courageous efforts of French officers to prevent this butchery.

A memoir of that period informs us, that the Ottawas present at the siege of Fort George, numbered three hundred and thirty-seven, and that "Messrs de Langlade, Florimont, Herbin and the Abbe Matavet were connected with this Indian detachment."

At the end of the campaign of 1757, Vaudreuil resolved to recompense the services of Langlade by making him second in command at the post of Michillimakinac, with a salary of a thousand francs per year. This appointment was made in the following terms:

* M. de Corbiere was killed at the battle of St. Foye, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1760. Hertel de Chambly, ensign, went to France after the taking of the country by the English; but he was one of the number of officers who obtained passports to return to Canada in 1763. The Chevalier de Meloises was killed at the siege of Quebec in 1759. La Chapelle remained in the country after the capitulation of Montreal.

"Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor, and Lieutenant-General for the King in all New France, lands and regions of Louisiana: Sieur Langlade, ensign of troops detached from the marine, is ordered to depart from this city immediately in order to report at the post of Michillimakinac, where he will serve in the capacity of second officer under the orders of M. de Beaujeu,* commandant at said post.

"VAUDREUIL.

"Done at Montreal the eighth of September, 1757."

The following year Langlade returned to the field of active duty to partake of the glory and the perils of those grand military operations, which, while covering our arms with glory, exhausted the of our defenders, and ruined our resources.

Grignon says he took part in the famous battle of Ticonderoga,† where the English army, on the ninth of July, 1758, commanded by General Abercrombie, was beaten like the French formerly at Crecy with forces five times superior to those of the enemy. But he could not have participated in this memorable victory, in which indeed no Indian band took any part.‡ By a paper in the Mackinaw Registers we see that Langlade, "officer in the forces and second in command of that post," was still in that island on the 2d July, 1758—that is to say, seven days before the battle.§

Langlade was afterwards dispatched to Fort Duquesne, which was again menaced by the English. General Forbes, in fact, left Philadelphia without delay, at the head of a considerable army

* Louis Lienard Villemonde de Beaujeu was the hero of the Monongahela, and his worthy emulator. Ensign from 1731 to 1738; Lieutenant in 1744, he was appointed in 1751 captain of the company of soldiers of the marine, in place of M. de la Verendrie; and by his honorable conduct, in January 1754, obtained the cross of St. Louis. The authorities granted him in that year a concession of land, four leagues in depth by four front, on the border of Lake Champlain, and he applied himself to the work of clearing it. Some time afterwards he was appointed commander of the post of Michillimakinac, and he served in this position during many years. Later, he took an active part in the defence of the country during the American war. M. de Beaujeu died on the fifth of June, 1802, at his manor on Crane Island, at the advanced age of eighty-five years and five months.

† Seventy-two Years' Recollections of Wisconsin, Vol. iii, Wis. Hist. Colls.

‡ This absence of Indians caused Montcalm to say after the victory of Ticonderoga, "What a day for France! If I had had two hundred Indians to serve as scouts at the head of a detachment of a thousand picked men, not many of the enemy would have escaped in their flight. Oh! what troops ours are—never have I seen the like!"

§ I have subscribed as missionary priest of the Company of Jesus, and I have solemnly administered holy baptism to Charles, legitimate son of Antoine le Tellier and Charlotte Outokis, his father and mother, and born on the twentieth of last November, at Fond du Lac. The god-father was M. de l'Anglade, officer in the forces and second in command at this post, and the god-mother, the madam his wife.

At Mackinaw, this second day of July, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight.

M. L. LE FRANC,
Miss. of the Company of Jesus.

directing his course towards the Ohio, in order to seize upon Fort Duquesne. But, on learning that a portion of this little army, under the command of Major Grant, had already reached the environs of the fort, the commandant, M. de Ligneris, advanced bravely to the encounter, and repulsed the English so vigorously, that they lost about four hundred men, and had many wounded. As at the battle of the Monongahela, a good number of the flying were pursued with such ardor, that they threw themselves into the waters of that river, or of the Ohio, hoping to escape, and many were drowned in the vain effort.

It was unfortunately destined that the expenditure of so much courage, should be entirely lost. For, M. de Ligneris forced by the lack of supplies, was obliged to send away many Canadians, and reduce his garrison to only two hundred men. Further resistance thus became impossible. So, when, at the end of November, the English, still commanded by Forbes, pressed forward with his main body, M. de Ligneris destroyed the fort which he could no longer defend, and retired with his men—a portion to Fort Venango, others to the Mississippi. The loss of so important a post as Fort Duquesne, was unhappily but the forerunner of the terrible reverses, which were soon to strike the entire French army.

We have reached 1759. Fortune, hitherto favorable to the French cause, is about to desert our flag; numbers will at last crush the handful of brave men in Canada, abandoned by France, but firmly resolved to surrender only at the last extremity, and to be buried, if need be, under the ruins of their country; a memorable year, when from the fort at Quebec, those old colors with the *fleur de lis*, which had proudly waved there since the days of Champlain, were destined forever to disappear.

Let us see what was done for the defense of the country by Langlade, of whom it might well be said, as is related of Hector, the hero of Troy, that he would alone by himself have saved the country, if it could possibly have been saved:

Could hands of men save Troy from powers malign,
It had been saved by this right hand of mine.

The Memoir of the affairs of Canada from 1749 to 1760, informs us that Langlade left Michillinakinac in the month of June, 1759, and went with a numerous party of Indians designed as a strong

reinforcement to the Canadian authorities. "Two hundred savages," it says, "of the nations around Missilimaquinac, commanded by Sieur Langlade, half-pay officer, established among them, arrived at Montreal June, twenty-third, and immediately descended to Quebec." Pouchot tells us in his Memoir on the Last War in North America, that "Messrs de la Verendrie,* one of the discoverers of the Rocky Mountains, and of the Sea at the West, and de Langlade descended the Great River with twelve hundred Kristinaux, Sioux, Sacs, Menomonies, Chippewas, and Foxes."

Langlade came to offer anew his valiant sword to Montcalm, who the first of our heroes, had only heroes under his command; he came to assist in the last stage of that grand struggle where so many times his courage and skill had shone forth conspicuously. He was not slow to demonstrate that no one better than he, perhaps, was equal to the difficult situation in which the French army was about to be placed.

It is no part of our plan to recount the great military feats which were to decide the fate of France in this country; it suffices us to say, that the English troops constantly augmented by new reinforcements, struck simultaneously powerful blows in different parts of the country, to crush us once for all by the power of numbers.

While Fort Niagara, the key to our vast domains in the West, fell under the assaults of Generals Prideaux and Johnson, General Amherst seized on his part the forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with the intention to go afterwards and reinforce the troops commanded by Wolfe, which, to the number of twelve thousand men, arrived in sight of Quebec, on board a considerable fleet in June, 1759.

The French, on their side, did not remain inactive, and were preparing to give them a warm reception. Their troops went into camp between the River St. Charles and the Falls of Montmorency to obstruct the passage of the enemy. They were divided into three corps, the left commanded by M. de Levis, the right by Marquis de Vaudreuil, and the centre by the Marquis de Montcalm.

On the ninth of July, the largest part of Wolfe's army disembarked below the Falls of Montmorency, and established itself upon the left side of this River, with a powerful artillery, which more than once obliged the French forces, encamped on the opposite

* See Garneau's Hist. of Canada, translated by Bell, Vol. 1, pp. 425-428.

L. C. D.

bank, to change position. On the twenty-fifth of July, a detachment of Wolfe's army, two thousand strong, having imprudently pushed a reconnaissance across the wood almost to the French entrenchments. Langlade, who watched their movements at the head of a numerous party of Indians which he had placed in ambush, in order to surround the English, made many vain applications to the French authorities to induce them to support him in the attack he had projected against the enemy. This was unfortunate, for, if they had followed his counsel, this surprise would, in all probability, have the most disastrous results; and the whole English detachment, a prey to the greatest consternation, would have been pitilessly massacred.

This important fact seems unknown to our historians; but it is described in the "Dialogue in Hades between the Marquis de Montcalm and General Wolfe," which is attributed to Mr. Johnstone,* a very efficient Scotch officer, who entered service in the French army. I give the extract from this dialogue, in which Montcalm, recounting the fact, thus reproaches Wolfe with having risked the loss of his army by approaching too near the French entrenchments:

"How," says he, can you, sir, justify your imprudence in running headlong into the woods opposite to our entrenchments with two thousand men, who naturally ought to have been cut to pieces, and neither you nor any man of your detachment have made your escape? Nine hundred Indians lay in wait within pistol shot of you, and they would have cut off your retreat, before you discovered them. As soon as the Indians had surrounded you in the woods, they sent their officer, Langlade, to acquaint M. de Levis that they had got you in their net; but that your detachment, appearing to be nearly two thousand strong, greatly superior to their own party, they begged earnestly of M. de Levis to order M. de Repentigny to pass the ford and join them with eleven hundred men, which he had under his command in the entrenchments; that they would then be answerable with their own lives if a single man of your de-

*The Chevalier de Johnstone, a native of Edinburgh, born in 1720, served in the rebellion of 1745, and, after the battle of Culloden, escaped to Holland, subsequently entering the French service, was sent to Canada, where, it is said, he acted as Aid-de-Camp to the Commander of the forces; but, more probably, to M. de Levis, using the arguments mentioned in the text, to induce his General to order Repentigny and Langlade to attack the English party in the woods. After the conquest of Canada, he retired to France, and devoted his latter years to writing in the French language. *Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745 and 1746.*

tachment should return to your camp; but they did not think themselves strong enough to successfully strike the meditated blow without his reinforcement of Canadians. There were many officers at M. de Levis quarters, when Langlade came to him in behalf of the Indians; and the General, having assembled them, gave them his own opinion on the affair: That it seemed to him dangerous to attack an enemy in the woods, whose force they could not well estimate; that it might prove to be the whole English army, and consequently a question of bringing on a general engagement for which they were not prepared; and if they were defeated, he would be blamed for having brought on a battle without having received orders from his superiors, M. de Vaudreuil and M. de Montcalm.

All his officers readily endorsed his view, which was very natural—out of respect and courtesy to their commander. His Aid-de-Camp alone entertained a different opinion, which he was constrained to offer from the truest friendship for his general. He declared that there was not the smallest probability that all the English army could be there, since the Indians, who never fail to magnify the number, computed them at only two thousand men; that even supposing it to be the enemy's whole force, it would be the most lucky thing that could happen to us to have a general engagement in the woods, where a Canadian is worth three disciplined soldiers, as a soldier in the open field is worth three Canadians; and that nothing was more essential than for those who composed two-thirds of the army, which was the case with the Canadians, to select the propitious moment, and their own choice of fighting; that the English army, on the contrary, was almost entirely composed of regulars, with very few militia.

“That M. de Levis could not do better than by ordering M. de Repentigny to cross the River immediately with his detachment *en echelon*, and join the Indians without the least delay; that he should, at the same time, give me speedy information of his adventure, in order to move the remainder of the army toward the ford, so that other regiments should take the place of those marched off; so that the Royal Roussillon Regiment, the nearest to the ford, should go off directly to take the post that Repentigny would quit in crossing the River, and observing the same for the rest of the army; that engaging in a general battle, supposing all the English army to be in the woods opposite the ford, would under these cir

cumstances, be very desirable; in short, that if there was a probability of our being defeated and repulsed in the woods, which could scarcely happen, according to all human calculations, we had our retreat assured in the recesses of the forest, well-known to the Canadians, where the English troops could not pursue them, so that in no event, could M. de Levis run the least risk. The Aid-de-Camp added in conclusion, that when fortune offers her favors, they ought to be snatched with avidity. These reasons made no impression on M. de Levis, and Langlade was sent back to the Indians with a negative reply.

It was two miles from M. de Levis' quarters to the place where the Indians were in ambush. Langlade came back with new entreaties and earnest solicitations to induce M. de Levis to order Repentigny to cross to ford with his detachment, but the General could not be prevailed upon to give positive directions to Repentigny to join the Indians.

M. de Levis, however, wrote a letter to Repentigny by Langlade, in which he stated, that "having the greatest confidence in his prudence and good conduct, he might pass the River with his detachment, if he saw a certainty of success." The Aide-de-Camp told him, whilst he was sealing the letter, that Repentigny had too much judgment and good sense to assume the responsibility of an affair of that importance; and his opinion of Repentigny was immediately justified by his answer, requesting M. de Levis to give him a clear and positive order.

After having thus lost about an hour and a half, M. de Levis resolved at last to go himself to the ford, and there give his orders verbally; but he had scarcely got half way to it when he heard a brisk fire. The Indians losing all patience, after having remained so long hid, at a pistol shot from you, like setter dogs upon wild fowl, at last gave you a volley, killed about a hundred and fifty of your soldiers, and then retired without losing a man. It is evident that had Repentigny passed the River with his detachment of eleven hundred Canadians, you must have been cut to pieces, and that affair would have terminated your expedition. Your army could not have had any hopes of succeeding after such a loss; their spirits would have been depressed, and Canada would have been secure from any further invasion from Great Britain.

M. Jean-Claude Panet, notary, in his Journal of the Siege of

Quebec, gives a somewhat different account of this engagement, and reports the number of killed as only sixty. He remarks that the consternation was so great among the English when they were attacked by the Indians that they fled, crying "all is lost;" but that unfortunately no advantage was taken of this stroke.

A relation of the operations of the army, under M. de Montcalm before Quebec, preserved in the War archives at Paris, contains the following details on this subject: "After having lain flat on the ground for five hours in the face of the enemy, without observing the slightest movement among our troops, the Indians, carried away at last by their impatience, and seeing, moreover, that the enemy was profiting by it, by bringing fresh troops into the woods, decided to make the attack alone. They were so impetuous, as we were subsequently told by a Sargeant who had deserted to the enemy, and two Canadians, then prisoners, that the English were obliged to fight retreating more than two hundred paces from the place of combat, before they could rally. The alarm was communicated even to the main camp, to which Gen. Wolfe had returned. The savages, seeing themselves almost entirely surrounded, effected a retreat, after having killed or wounded more than a hundred and fifty men, losing only two or three of their own number. They met at the ford of the River Montmorency, the detachment coming to their support, which M. de Levis had been unwilling to take the responsibility of sending, until he received an order from M. de Vaudreuil. *The whole army regretted that they had not profited by so fine an opportunity.*"

These testimonies are of unquestionable value. They make it evident that we cannot form too high an opinion of the ability of Langlade, and of the very important service he would have rendered to the French cause, had the Canadian authorities known how to profit by the daring project he had formed to annihilate a portion of the English army. The French Generals, unfortunately too much imbued with the military ideas in vogue in Europe, seemed sometimes to forget that a war in the midst of our woods and forest posts, could not be carried on as under ordinary conditions; and that it was chiefly by surprises and skillfully prepared ambuscades, that they could succeed in crushing an enemy well disciplined and superior in numbers. It is not strange that they committed errors, manifest even to those not of their profession,

and that their prejudices led them often to reject plans, the wisest and best adapted to the true mode of warfare in this country.

It will be remarked that Langlade plays in this affair, a part very like that which is attributed to him at the Monongohela. Only, de Beaujeu was shrewd enough to yield at length to his entreaties, and to open the battle in time to profit by the surprise of the enemy, and to put them completely to rout, while the Chevalier de Levis by complying too late with the ardent solicitations of de Langlade, lost, according to Johnstone, the opportunity to put a probable end to the expedition of the English.

Sometime after this bold stroke, Langlade took an active part in the battle of the Plains of Abraham, on the thirteenth of September, 1759. He seemed to surpass himself in that unhappy day which destroyed our last hope of success, and

Where Montcalm closed a life too brief,
His sun in rays of glory set,
On fields where Wolfe—the victor Chief—
His death in arms of victory met.—O. CREMAZIE.

Langlade was not only the sad witness of this disaster, but he had also the grief of seeing his two brothers fall beside him, as did so many others, paying thus nobly their debt to the country.

De Gere, one of his companions, affirms that no person evinced more coolness than did Langlade on a battle field. He seemed to delight to be in the midst of the din of arms, and the yells of the combatants. He relates that a succession of rapid discharges, having one day heated his gun to such a degree that he could not use it again for a few minutes, he drew his pipe from his pocket, filled it with tobacco, struck fire with the aid of his tinder-box, then lighted it, appearing so calm amidst the cannonade, and the whistling of bullets, as if he had been tranquilly seated by the fire in bivouac.

The commandant at Quebec, M. de Ramezay, having capitulated six days after this battle, Langlade was of those who thought this measure cowardly, and he with his companions quit the place filled with mortification and disgust. To the summons to surrender, Langlade would have replied like the heroic Frontenac of old to the envoy of Phipps: "It is by the mouth of my cannon, and the missiles of my guns that I will reply to your General."

The capitulation signed, the English troops took immediate por-

session of the city. The fall of Quebec, received in England with unbounded enthusiasm, spread, on the contrary, consternation through the Canadian country, which, after a last glorious effort, was forced to succumb before the invading forces of the enemy.

Langlade departed for Michillimakinac after these unhappy events, and returned to Canada early in the following year.* A Lieutenant's commission, signed by Louis XV, awaited him, in reward for his services. It was expressed in the following terms:

BY THE KING:

His majesty having made choice of Sieur Langlade to serve in the capacity of half-pay lieutenant in connection with the troops stationed in Canada, he commands the Lieutenant General of New France to receive him, and to cause him to be recognized in the said capacity of half pay lieutenant by all those and others whom it may concern.

Done at Versailles, February first, 1760.

LOUIS..

In the absence of positive information we, have every reason to believe, that Langlade fought under the Chevalier de Levis, when that intrepid General at the head of the noble wrecks of his French troops, and of the Canadian militia, triumphed for a last time on the twenty-eighth of April, 1760, upon the identical field of the defeat of Montcalm.

The timely arrival of considerable reinforcements from England, unhappily rendered useless the prodigies of valor achieved by the Canadians; and in consequence of their cruel desertion by France, they were forced to witness, with resignation, their country fall into the hands of their ancient enemy.

Our veterans laurel trophies made,
But 'neath our walls we saw them sere,
A shameless King their arms betrayed,
And closed to their complaints his ear.—O. CREMAZIE.

The governor of the Colony, M. de Vaudreuil, no longer indulging a hope of ability to resist the English, gave to Langlade on the third of September, 1760, the following instructions:

Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant General for the King in all New France, lands and regions of Louisiana:

* According to the Mackinaw register, Langlade was a witness to the marriage of Michel Boier with Josette Marguerite Du Lignon on the seventh of January, 1760.

Sieur Langlade, half-pay lieutenant of the troops of the Colony, whom we have charged with the superintendence of the Indian nations of the Upper Country, which are returning to their villages, is ordered to use his utmost diligence to report with them at Michillimakinac, to watch that they commit no theft, nor offer any insult to the canoes of the *voyageurs* whom they may meet on their route; always to encourage them in their attachment to the French nation, making them feel that if we have the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, the Colony could at the utmost remain only a few months in its power, and that if peace is not actually, it is probably on the point of being made.

We notify Sieur Langlade, that he is by our orders to transfer two companies of deserters from the English troops, by the way of the Upper Country, to be sent to Louisiana, which companies are commanded by two sergeants, one Irish and the other German, both very intelligent, and quite capable of preserving discipline in their troops. Sieur Langlade will therefore take care that his Indians stir up no quarrel with these deserters, nor commit theft; nor insult them while they are under their escort; he will also procure for them all those facilities of which they may have need along the route, and which may devolve upon him; and he will also select such Canadians to guide these deserters, as will not abandon them.

Done at Montreal, the third of September, 1760.

VAUDREUIL.

Six days later, Vaudreuil sent the following dispatch to Langlade, in which he announced the capitulation of Montreal, and made known to him its conditions, especially those which might directly affect the inhabitants of the Western posts:

MONTREAL, *ninth of September, 1760.*

I inform you, sir, that I have to-day been obliged to capitulate with the army of General Amherst. This city is, as you know, without defences. Our troops were considerably diminished, our means and resources exhausted. We were surrounded by three armies, amounting in all to twenty thousand and eighty men. General Amherst was, on the sixth of this month in sight of the walls of this city, General Murray within reach of one of our suburbs, and the army of Lake Champlain was at La Prairie and Longueil.

Under these circumstances, with nothing to hope from our efforts, nor even from the sacrifice of our troops, I have advisedly decided to capitulate with General Amherst upon conditions very advantageous for the colonists, and particularly for the inhabitants of Michillimakinac. Indeed, they retain the free exercise of their religion; they are maintained in the possession of their goods, real and personal, and of their peltries. They have also free trade just the same as the proper subjects of the King of Great Britain.

The same conditions are accorded to the military. They can appoint persons to act for them in their absence. They, and all citizens in general, can sell to the English or French their goods, sending the proceeds thereof to France, or taking them with them if they choose to return to that country after the peace. They retain their negroes and Pawnee Indian slaves, but will be obliged to restore those

which have been taken from the English. The English General has declared that the Canadians have become the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, and consequently the people will not continue to be governed as heretofore by the French Code.

In regard to the troops, the condition has been imposed upon them not to serve during the present war, and to lay down their arms before being sent back to France. You will therefore, sir, assemble all the officers and soldiers who are at your post. You will cause them to lay down their arms, and you will proceed with them to such sea-port as you think best, to pass from thence to France. The citizens and inhabitants of Michillimakinac will consequently be under the command of the officer whom General Amherst shall appoint to that post.

You will forward a copy of my letter to St. Joseph, and to the neighboring posts, in order that if any soldiers remain there, they and the inhabitants may conform thereto.

I count upon the pleasure of seeing you in France with all your officers.

I have the honor to be, very sincerely, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

Signed in the original draught.

The Memoir of Grignon* expresses surprise that, notwithstanding services so remarkable, Langlade has scarcely been known in history. The author thinks, however, that the oblivion which unjustly rests upon his memory may be largely attributed to the departure of the French troops for the mother country, after the surrender of Canada, together with the natural repugnance of the vanquished, to awaken memories of this war, however glorious they might be.

This observation is not without justice. The Memorial of St. Helene, alluding to the terrible reverses of Napoleon, truthfully remarks, that "in our last moments a multitude of exploits and of historical facts have been lost in the confusion of our disasters, and in the abyss of our misfortunes." This would be equally true of us. We have, however, reason to believe that the silence of history upon these heroic deeds of de Langlade, is not due solely to this cause. May it not be in part attributed to the unjust bias of the regular troops against the Canadian militia, which had its source in an exaggerated idea of their own military superiority? This prejudice was shared by many French Generals, and Montcalm himself was not wholly free from it. Levis is one of the few French commanders who knew how to appreciate the Canadian soldier at his true value; and he knew how to use, to marvellous

*Seventy-two years' Recollections of Wisconsin, Vol. iii. Wis. Hist. Colls.

advantage, these hardy men, possessing such rare military qualities.

To what extent certain French officers ventured to detract from the merit of the Canadians, is quite evident from the following words written by one of them to the War Minister in France: "The Canadian is wicked, a liar, boastful, very convenient for skirmishing, very brave behind a tree, and extremely timid when unsheltered." It is easy for us to treat with contempt the accusation of cowardice brought against our fathers, for every page of our history furnishes its refutation. To make this injustice more obvious, we content ourselves with stating, that after the defeat of Montcalm's army, when the living forces of the country seemed exhausted, we find one of the most touching evidences of courage that could be given by a people. "We had not," says one of the general officers at that time, "counted upon so strong an army, because we did not expect to have so large a number of Canadians; the intention was, only to assemble the men in a condition to sustain the fatigues of war; but such emulation prevailed among this people, that there were seen arriving in camp old men eighty years of age, and children of twelve and thirteen years, who were unwilling to profit by the exemption accorded to their age. Never were subjects more worthy of the favors of their sovereign. In the army, they were exposed to all the fatigue duty."

It is a flagrant indignity to affix to the brow of such a people the stigma of the coward, when it ought rather to be encircled with the crown of the hero.

It is not perhaps unnecessary to remark, that to have known how to fight behind a tree, would not, at that time, have had the injurious import of which this expression seems to admit; and by no means militates against the reputation for bravery to which these Canadians have acquired so just a title. For it was then the best method of making war in this country—the only means of supplying the deficiency of our numbers, of economizing the strength which our growing weakness forbade us to waste, and of preparing surprises fatal to the enemy, as, for instance, among others, the glorious battle of the Monongahela.

If the French Generals had been less fond of fighting after the European style, that is to say, unsheltered; if they had better understood the absolute necessity for confining themselves to skirmishing and woods-fighting in the exhausted state of the country—

exhausted as to men, supplies, and ammunition, they would, perhaps have avoided some of the errors so prejudicial to the cause of France. To speak only of Montcalm, one of the officers present at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, reproaches him, among other grave faults, with "not having known how to profit by the nature of the country, to station by platoons in the thickets the Canadians, who, arranged in that manner, certainly surpass as marksmen all the troops in the world."

In a letter dated the twenty-third of October, 1757, addressed to the Minister of War, the Marquis de Vaudreuil shows how little value was put upon the Canadians, of whom he always proved himself a zealous defender. "The infantry," he said, "are with difficulty brought into good understanding and union with our Canadians; the haughty manner in which their officers treat them produces a very bad effect. * * * The Canadians are obliged to carry these gentlemen upon their shoulders through the cold waters, and their feet are lacerated by the stones; and if, unfortunately for themselves, they make a mis-step, they are treated with indignity."

Evidently the arrogance affected by certain Englishmen of the present day, in their dealings with the children of the soil, is no new thing. We suffered at that time from the superciliousness of Europeans very much as we do now.

In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the Canadians, after the most brilliant services, have succeeded in attaining only to secondary posts, and have seen preferred to themselves officers of less valor, whose principal merit, in many cases, was being "gentlemen of birth;"* or having been born on the other side of the Atlantic.

In no other way can the silence of history be explained than by this prejudice against the Canadians; take as a memorable case in point, the important part acted by Langlade in the victory of the Monongahela. For, if we credit his testimony, together with the positive declarations of General Burgoyne, and of Amburey, an officer of the English army, he must have been the real victor in

* The chances for promotion afforded by this quality may be judged of by the following response of M. Berryer, Minister of the Navy of France, in 1760, to the Duchess de Mortemart, who recommended to him Vaucrain, a hero of the late war in Canada: "Madame, I know very well that M. Vaucrain has served the King marvelously like a hero; but he is not a gentleman of birth, and I must supply the demands of a large number of officers from noble families. He was trained in the merchant service, to which he will return." Evidently the time had not yet come, when every soldier carried a marshal's baton in his cartridge-box.

that battle. Meantime, his name does not appear even in the French accounts, where the names of inferior officers were scrupulously recorded.

There is the same systematic silence upon other deeds not less meritorious. Without the authorized testimony of a Scotch officer, Mr. Johnstone, author of the Dialogue in Hades between Montcalm and Wolfe,* we should be ignorant of the daring surprise projected by Langlade before the fatal battle of the Plains of Abraham, to cut in pieces a large part of Wolfe's army, which might have resulted in preserving Canada to France. Other accounts, it is true, describe this daring undertaking; one of them even acknowledges that the whole French army regretted that advantage was not taken of so fine an opportunity to worst the enemy; but it is very careful not to connect the name of Langlade with this exploit. Does not all this resemble a regular conspiracy—the conspiracy of silence against a man of incontestable merit, who appears to have given umbrage to certain personages of the time?

Happily, light begins to dawn upon these deeds. New documents and authentic writings are constantly being exhumed, and bring to our notice names of men unjustly ignored, to whom history will justly accord the profound admiration which paltry jealousies, or the bad faith of their contemporaries too often refused them. Their glory will be neither less brilliant nor less durable for having been tardily revealed to us.

The English, after the war, took possession of all the Western posts. They generally placed in them pretty strong garrisons, protected by cannon, in order to make their authority respected by the "*coureurs de bois*" and savages who appeared not at all disposed to receive them favorably.

These posts, with the exception of that at Detroit, were not all occupied immediately. The fort of Michillimakinac, did not receive an English garrison until 1761, and during that interval, it remained in possession of the Canadians, who carried on the trade in that distant region. The first English commandant of the fort was Captain George Etherington. He was probably a brave soldier; but he does not seem to have been quite equal to this position.

Very soon after his arrival at the fort, Captain Etherington invited the principal French traders who remained in the surround-

* Father Martin, author of *Montcalm in Canada*, says that this Dialogue reveals many curious facts which appear to be unknown to history.

in country, to come and take the oath of allegiance, and to confer with him upon certain matters of local administration. This was, in all respects, a wise step. It gave the commandant an opportunity to learn the necessities of the situation, and was calculated to inspire the Canadians with confidence in the policy of their new masters. Augustin and Charles de Langlade accepted the invitation of Captain Etherington, and repaired to Michillimakinac, accompanied by their wives and children, and by several Pawnee slaves which belonged to them.

This visit had the best results. Captain Etherington received the Langlades with extreme kindness, and did everything in his power to ingratiate himself with men so influential. As a proof of his desire to forget the animosity of the past, he even continued Charles de Langlade in his function of superintendent of the Indians for the division of Green Bay, and of commander of the militia. It was a double favor of which Langlade was the more sensible because it was altogether unexpected.

Among the few papers of Langlade that remain to us, is the following permission to reside in Green Bay:

MICHILLIMAKINAC, *April 13th, 1763.*

I have, this day, given permission to Messrs. Langlade, father and son, to remain at the post at La Baye, and do hereby order that no person may interrupt them in their voyage thither, with their wives, children, servants and baggage.

GEO. ETHERINGTON,
Commandant.

The conquest of the country was accomplished, but it was not at once followed by a complete reconciliation. The dying embers of war rekindled with their sinister gleams, in the Northwest; and, for some time, threatened to make serious ravages. The most of the Indian tribes to whom the memory of France had not ceased to be dear, were unwilling to submit to the English; and they organized against them a powerful conspiracy which barely failed of complete success. This conspiracy had been skillfully planned by one of the greatest warriors that the Indians had produced—the illustrious Pontiac—the sworn enemy of the English, whom, in the vehemence of his language he called “dogs disguised as men, in garments always stained with blood.” The plan was to get possession by force or stratagem, of the English forts; to massacre their garrisons or make them prisoners; to seize their arms and supplies,—in short, to

drive from the country those whom they had valiantly fought during three quarters of a century under the flag of France.

Early in May, 1763, Pontiac mustered a considerable force of Indians, gathered from all points, and commenced the siege of Detroit, the most important post of the Upper Country. During twelve long months, he vainly tried to get possession of the place; and after having exhausted all the means of attack that courage or skill could suggest to him, he was finally obliged to raise the siege. But, the Western tribes, to whom he had communicated his thirst for vengeance, rose in their turn, and, mainly by stratagem, got possession of other English forts which were able to offer them only feeble resistance.

Happening to be at Michillimakinac at this epoch, Langlade thought it his duty to acquaint Captain Etherington with the plot that was being laid against the English. On receiving this startling intelligence, the English commandant sent for Match-e-ke-wis and some other savage chiefs, who appeared implicated in the mischief, and endeavored to sound them as to their designs; but so adroit was their dissimulation, that they persuaded Captain Etherington that the English cause had in them the most devoted partisans.

Langlade, better informed of the true sentiments of the savages, repeated their designs to Captain Etherington, recommending to him the utmost vigilance. But the commandant, having a blind faith in the sincerity of the protestations which he had received, would listen to nothing. "M. Langlade," said he, to him, one day, "I am tired of hearing the stories you are so often telling me; they are the foolish stories of old women, and unworthy of belief. The Indians are well satisfied with the English, and have no hostile designs against them. I hope, therefore, that you will no longer importune me on this subject." "Very well, Captain Etherington," replied Langlade, "I will not trouble you any more with my so-called old women's stories; but you will 'ere long regret not having listened to my advice."

Nor was Langlade alone in giving information to Captain Etherington of the danger which threatened him. An English trader, Alexander Henry, imparted to him the vague rumors which were in circulation on the subject of an approaching rising on the part

of the savages; but he treated his fears as wild chimeras of the imagination. A Canadian, named Laurent Ducharme, having made to him still more urgent representations, he not only turned a deaf ear to his warnings, but refused to see him again. Finally, he threatened to send to Detroit as prisoner, any one who should call in question the loyalty of the Indians. We shall see how dearly his blindness cost him.

It is a singular fact, that the commanders of the other English frontier posts which had much the same fate as Michillimackinac, were almost all informed of the impending storm which threatened them; but they obstinately refused to believe that it portended any real danger. Major Gladwyn, of Detroit, was of this number; and he might easily, at the beginning, have seized the leaders of the insurrection, including Pontiac himself, if he had not been profoundly convinced that the rumors of the conspiracy were either groundless, or the plot itself too trifling to deserve attention.

It was at the end of May, 1763, that they learned at Michillimackinac of the siege of Detroit, by Pontiac. The news caused a great flutter among the Chippewas who remained in that quarter; and they secretly resolved to take up the war hatchet against the English upon the first favorable occasion. There were ordinarily only about a hundred Chippewa warriors at Michillimackinac; but this number was, shortly after, considerably increased by the arrival of some of the bands of the tribe which generally lived on the shores of Lake Michigan.

According to the historian Parkman, the soul of this secret movement about to stain the land with blood, was Minavavana, a redoubtable warrior, called by the Canadians *Le Grand Sauter*—the Great Chippewa, who was in regular communication with Pontiac; and, like him, he burned to gratify his hatred of the English,* whom he detested as much as he loved the French. The sentiments which animated this chief, may be gathered from the following words, addressed by him to Alexander Henry, one of the

*This savage chief was all his life the sworn enemy of the English. When Jonathan Carver, the author of *Travels through the Interior parts of North-America* in 1766, 1767 and 1768, visited Michillimackinac, he was introduced to Minavavana, who refused to give him his hand, and contented himself with replying disdainfully *cawin nishishin sagonash!*—English no good. The Grand Sauter rendered himself so odious to the English by the inveterate hatred he bore them, that he was, some years later, stabbed in his tent near Michillimackinac by a trader.

But, according to Colonel De Peyster, commandant at Michillimackinac from 1774 to 1779, the chief actor in the surprise of that post in 1763, was not Minavavana, but the ferocious Match-e-ke-wis, renowned for his bravery and cruelty.

first English traders who made ventures at Michillimakinac to open a fur-trade:

Englishman! You know that the French King is our father. He has promised to be such; and we, in return, have promised to be his children. This promise we have kept.

Englishman! It is you who have made war with our father. You are his enemy; and how then, could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours.

Englishman! We are informed that our father, the King of France, is old and infirm; and that being fatigued with making war upon your nation, he has fallen asleep. During his sleep, you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end. I think I already hear him stirring, and inquiring for his children, the Indians; and when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly!

Englishman! Although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us. We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods, and mountains, were left us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef! But you ought to know, that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us, in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains.

The tempest breathed into their minds by the terrible Minavavana was about to burst forth in a most unexpected manner. On the birthday of King George, the fourth of June, 1763, the Chippewas and Sacs repaired to the fort, and proposed to Captain Etherington to keep the festival with a grand game of baggattiway, a kind of ball-play. The savages excel in this game, which has long been in vogue amongst them; and Captain Etherington willingly acceded to their request. He was far from suspecting that this inoffensive play concealed a terrible design; for the better to dissemble their perfidy, the savages had devoted themselves to the same amusement during the preceeding days.

There was every appearance that the fourth of June, 1763, would be a grand *fete* day in Michillimakinac. It was magnificent; a glowing sun diffused its warm rays, and nature, draped in her rich mantle of verdure, seemed designed to add brilliancy to the rejoicings. The cannon sent forth from time to time sonorous volleys, and their noisy detonations awakened the most distant echoes of Lake Huron. The savages, clothed in their most beautiful costumes, decked with brilliant feathers, were reckoned by hundreds; and to look at them, one would have believed them exclusively ab-

sorbed in the issue of the struggle in which the two tribes were about to engage. A large number of Canadians circulated among these children of the forest, many of whom were known to them, awaiting the commencement of the spectacle which promised them more than ordinary interest.

The game was to take place on the large plain adjacent to the fort. The hour for the contest having arrived, Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie took a position outside the fort, and some steps from the gate, in order the better to observe the movements of the players. The former seemed above all interested in the struggle; for, in accordance with his promise, he had made wagers in favor of the Chippewas. The game was pursued with great ardor from morning until mid-day without the victory being decided in favor of either tribe. Many times already the ball had been intentionally thrown inside the palisades of the fort, and then sent out to them by the soldiers of the garrison; but as Etherington wished to give the Indians all possible facilities, he finally ordered the gates of the fort thrown open that they might themselves go in search of the ball.* This was exactly what they desired, and very soon they tossed the ball again inside the fort, rushing on in its pursuit. Their squaws also, in obedience to orders, precipitated themselves within the palisades, in order to give them the tomahawks which they held concealed under their blankets. This was the signal for a general massacre. The savages began to utter their terrible war-cry, and then to slaughter all the soldiers who fell under their hands. The latter, for the most part unarmed, were grouped unsuspectingly near the palisade of the fort, in order better to observe the fluctuations of the game. Lieutenant Jamet defended himself like a lion. Pressed on all sides by five savages, unarmed save his sword, with which he contended valiantly for his life, it was not till the thirty-sixth wound from the tomahawk that he was stretched upon the bloody field. Rendered furious by his courageous resistance, they cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph. The number of victims reached seventeen, including an English trader named Tracy. The sur-

* This detail which we extract from Grignon's Memoir, is not corroborated by the other accounts of the massacre of Michillimakinac. If these latter are to be believed, the gates of the fort had been open all the morning, and the squaws had gone in advance, and stationed themselves inside the palisades with arms which they had kept concealed. However this may be, Etherington seems to have neglected the most ordinary measures of precaution, in thus opening the gates of the fort to savages, whom he ought to have distrusted after the numerous warnings he had received.

viving soldiers were taken prisoners, and five of them were subsequently massacred.

Langlade witnessed the horrors of this carnage, but could do nothing to arrest it. In the infuriated condition of the savages, it would have been certain death to any who should take the part of the English.

Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie happily escaped the fate of their companions. Being found outside the fort after the massacre, the savages seized upon them, stripped them of their clothing, and then dragged them into the forest, doubtless intending to do them harm. After some deliberation, they decided to burn them at the stake. In fact, the wood was prepared, the prisoners bound, and the torch was about to be applied to the pile, when Langlade, informed of the terrible fate which threatened them, came in all haste to their succor, at the head of a certain number of loyal Ottawas, from l'Arbre Croche, situated upon the shore of Lake Michigan, twenty miles from Michillimakinac. Without any formalities, he cut the cords which bound the captives to the stake, and in a bold resolute tone said to the savage enemy, "If you are not content with what I have done, I am ready to meet you." They did not take up the glove, having too often proved the bravery of this intrepid man.

After having restored Etherington and Leslie to liberty, he said to the unfortunate commandant, "Captain Etherington, if you had listened to my 'old women's tales' which forewarned you of the peril, you would not have now been in a position so humiliating, nor would the greater part of your men have been numbered with the slain."

Alexander Henry, one of the four English traders who were then at Michillimakinac, was a witness of the frightful massacre of the garrison of this fort. As, under the circumstances, being an Englishman was tantamount to sentence of death,* he went at once to take refuge at the house of Langlade, near his own. On his arrival at Langlade's, whom he calls the French interpreter, all the family were at the window where they could see the bloody tragedy then being enacted. Henry having begged a refuge in his

* Such was the aversion of the Indians to the English at this period, that Henry, after his departure from Montreal in the summer of 1761, was obliged to disguise himself as a Canadian *voyageur*, so as not to attract the attention of the savages, who would have done him harm. Sometime after the massacre of Michillimakinac, he found it necessary, upon the recommendation of a friendly Indian chief, to play the part of an Indian in order to escape the vengeance of the Ojibwas.

house, Langlade according to the English trader, responded with a shrug of the shoulders, "What do you think I can do?" He was quite in despair as to his fate, when a female Pawnee slave of Langlade's beckoned th him to follow her. She conducted him to a ladder which leaned against the granary, and advised him to go there and hide himself. Henry hastened to follow her direction, and the woman locked him in.

Anxious to see what was passing in the fort, Henry could by means of an opening in the roof, which permitted a few beams of light to enter, observe the barbarous rejoicings of the savages over their atrocious triumph. It was a hideous spectacle to look upon. The dying a prey to most cruel agony, gave utterance to plaintive cries, while streams of blood flowed unstanched. The dead lay upon the ground scalped and stripped of their clothing. To add to the horror of the scene, some of the savages gorged themselves with the blood of their victims, from the hollow of their hands, at the same time uttering yells of fiendish rage.

After having slaked their ferocious revenge, some Ojibwas burst into the house of Langlade, with vociferous screams, making Henry's hair stand on end. They demanded of Langlade if some of the English had not taken refuge with him. He replied negatively; but to make sure they rumaged all the apartments, and at last proceeded to the granary. Henry now believing his case hopeless, a profound terror seized him. At the sound of their hurried steps, he hid himself behind a pile of birch bark troughs, which had been used to receive maple sap. He did his best to suppress his breathing; but so violent was the palpitation of his heart, that he thought it would betray him.

Four savages armed with bloody tomahawks, and furious as hyenas, hastened to enter the granary. They cast a searching glance around the gloomy room, scarcely entered by the light of day, and then departed without having seen Henry. They were accompanied by Langlade to whom they complacently enumerated the English heads which they had scalped that day. Henry's joy, when the door closed upon them, can only be compared to that of the condemned, who in some unexpected way, escapes the fatal execution.

Exhausted by emotion so intense, Henry abandoned himself to a refreshing sleep until the twilight hour, when he was suddenly awakened by a new sound. It was Langlade's wife who entered.

She was astonished at seeing him, not having known the place of his retreat. She bade him take courage, for most of the English having perished, she hoped that he might escape their vengeance. He asked her for a little water with which to refresh himself, and she hastened to bring it to him.

After a sleepless night of anxiety, just at daybreak, Henry heard the threatening voices of many savages, who again entered Langlade's house. They informed him that not having found Henry's body among those of the other victims, they were going to repeat their search to prevent the escape of the fugitive. Upon hearing their menaces, Langlade's wife tried to convince him that it would be imprudent longer to conceal Henry from their pursuit, because their own children would surely become victims of the revenge of the infuriated savages. Langlade at first resisted the entreaties of his wife; but her solicitations becoming more and more pressing, he thought it best to acknowledge to the Indians that Henry was concealed under his roof.

Receiving this intelligence, the savages bounded away to the granary. They were drunk, almost naked, and frightful to behold. Their chief, Winniway, a man of gigantic frame, all blackened with charcoal, darted upon Henry, and with one hand seized him by the coat collar, with the other brandishing a long knife as if about to plunge it in his breast. Then suddenly pausing, as if a sentiment of humanity made him recoil from the crime he was about to commit, he withdrew the arm just ready to be reddened with blood, and said: "I will not kill you. I have had many wars with the English, and have carried off many of their scalps. My brother Musinigon was killed by them; well, you shall take his place, and bear his name."

Henry was ordered by Wenniway to proceed to his wigwam; but at his request, Langlade obtained permission to retain him under his roof some days longer. He had scarcely entered Langlade's house, when a savage came to order him to follow him to a camp of the Ojibwas. Henry knew the brutal character of this Indian, who was indebted to him, and feared that he would attempt to kill him during the journey. His apprehensions were well founded, for his fierce companion tried to draw him towards a lonely spot, full of brushwood, behind the fort. Henry refused to go further. The savage then raised his knife to strike him; but Henry parried the

blow and took to flight. Furious at seeing his prey escape him, the Indian pursued him, uttering loud yells. Henry, to whom terror seemed to lend wings, directed his course towards Langlade's dwelling, and took refuge in the granary, where, for the second time, he found a place of protection against his enemies.

Henry complains of not having received from Langlade all the good treatment he had a right to expect. He relates that, having resolved to go to Detroit, Langlade refused to sell him upon credit a covering to protect him from the cold.* This was the more indispensable for the journey as he had been stripped by the Indians of all his clothing, and that he had nothing left but an old shirt to cover his almost naked limbs. Another Canadian, named John Cuchoise, was more humane, and gave him a covering, without which, Henry claims, that he would have perished in his voyage upon Lake Michigan.

The above is related upon the sole authority of Henry, and as Langlade could not have taken cognizance of, and replied to the accusation, practically, of "sordid inhumanity" brought against him, because this story was not published until 1809, nine years after his death, it is not at all easy for us to determine upon the truth of the statements made by the English trader. We must say, however, that the noble conduct of Langlade in respect to Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Leslie, whom he saved from the flames of a funeral pile, makes it difficult for us to believe that he, at the same time, acted in a totally different manner towards Henry.

For that matter, we have reason to believe that Henry has somewhat deepened the shadows in the sombre picture of the massacre of Michillimakinac, probably in order to make it more striking and interesting. This is rendered more probable by the fact, that his recital was not published until forty-six years after the date of the tragic event.

Henry says, for example, on page ninety-one of his narrative, that "Lieutenant Jamette† and seventy soldiers were killed at the

*Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the years 1760 and 1776, p. 93.

†Captain Etherington writes the name Jamet, and so it is found on page thirtieth, and one hundred and thirty-third, of the Dairy of the Siege of Detroit, though in Daniel Claus' letter, on page thirty-one of the same work, it is erroneously given as James. The British Army List of 1759, shows that his name was John Jamet, and that he was appointed an Ensign in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, March thirtieth, 1758. He was promoted to a Lieutenancy in 1762.

taking of the fort," while, according to the letter of Captain Etherington, written only eight days after the massacre, which will be found farther on, this number should have been only seventeen, which makes quite a difference as may readily be seen.

Again, Henry affirms on the one hundred and fifth page of his work, that the number of the garrison at Michillimakinac was ninety, while it was only about thirty-five according to the letter of the commandant. Parkman thinks this difference may be satisfactorily explained by saying that Henry intended, doubtless, to include all the inhabitants of the fort, both soldiers and Canadians.* But this cannot be, because Henry declares that not a single Canadian was a victim of the massacre. "During the taking of the fort," says he, "I remarked a great many Canadians calmly looking upon the passing events, making no opposition to the Indians, and receiving no injury." Indeed, Henry is explicit upon this point. "The garrison," says he, "was composed of ninety soldiers, of two subaltern officers, and the commandant, and there were four English traders in the fort." If all the Canadians were spared during the massacre, as Etherington and Henry state, the seventy-one pretended victims could have been only English. Now it is fully demonstrated that the number of the English at Michillimakinac did not then exceed forty. And if Henry has exaggerated in those two cases, may we not infer that he was capable of representing the facts which relate to Langlade, in a much more unfavorable light than they really deserve?

With their usual improvidence, the savages neglected even to guard against surprise, for they placed no force in the fort of which they had taken possession. The supplies of liquors stored there, having fallen into their hands, they gave themselves up to a frightful bacchanal which lasted many days, and seemed to transform them into so many demons. The chiefs, fearing that their warriors, maddened by "fire water," might be hurried on to acts of vengeance upon their captors, secured them in the fort, to the number of a score, with about three hundred Canadian *voyageurs*. It would then have been easy for the English to shut up the gates of the fort and to resist the attacks of the Indians, with the concurrence of the Canadians. Indeed, many English officers proposed to put themselves at once in a state of defence, but were dissuaded from their

* Conspiracy of Pontiac.

project by Father Du Jaunay,* and not Pere Jouvis as is said by Henry and Parkman, missionary to the Ottawas, at Arbre Croche in Michigan, who happened just at that time to be at Michillimakinac. This devoted Jesuit showed the English that the events of the late war were still so fresh in the minds of the Canadians that it would not be safe to count upon them, and that in case the savages should succeed in retaking the fort, there would probably not be a single Englishman left to tell the story of their destruction.

Some days after the massacre, Etherington appointed Langlade commandant of Fort Michillimakinac until further instructions should be received. He wrote to the commandants of the posts in that quarter, for the purpose of obtaining aid, and of recapturing the fort if that were possible; but we already know that this requisition was quite useless, because nearly all the English forts in the West had fallen into the hands of the savages.

Captain Etherington addressed the following letter to Major Gladwyn, of Detroit, in which he acknowledges in high terms the signal services rendered to him by Langlade in this unfortunate affair:

MICHILLIMACKINAC, 12 *June*, 1763.

SIR:—Notwithstanding that I wrote you in my last, that all the savages were arrived, and that everything seemed in perfect tranquillity, yet, on the 2d instant, the Chippewas, who live in a plain near this fort, assembled to play ball, as they had done almost every day since their arrival. They played from morning till noon; then throwing their ball close to the gate, and observing Lieut. Lesley and me a few paces out of it, they came behind us, seized and carried us into the woods.

In the meantime, the rest rushed into the fort, where they found their squaws, whom they had previously planted there, with their hatchets hid under their blankets, which they took, and in an instant killed Lieut. Jamet and fifteen rank and file, and a trader named Tracy. They wounded two, and took the rest of the garrison prisoners, five [Henry says seven] of whom they have since killed.

They made prisoners all the English traders, and robbed them of every thing they had; but they offered no violence to the persons or property of any of the Frenchmen.

* Pere Pierre-Luc Du Jaunay was the missionary at the post of Mackinaw from about 1740 until 1763 or later, and he remained in the West until 1774 in the capacity of Superior of the Mission of St. Joseph. In 1763, he obtained two thousand acres of land at l' Arbre Croche, part of which was put under cultivation. When, in 1825, the Abbe Vincent Badin visited the Indian congregations established upon the shores of Lakes Michigan and Superior, he remarked that the memory of Pere Du Januay was religiously preserved among these tribes. "During the journey," says he, "I was glad to converse about the Jesuit Fathers with an old man who had known them. He was, above all attached to Pere Du Jaunay, who had prepared him for, and admitted him to, his first communion, and whom he had often assisted at mass. He pointed out to me the place where the Father ordinarily read his breviary while walking."

When that massacre was over, Messrs. Langlade and Farlie,* the interpreter, came down to the place where Lieut. Lesley and me were prisoners; and on their giving themselves as security to return us when demanded, they obtained leave for us to go to the fort, under a guard of savages, which gave time, by the assistance of the gentlemen above mentioned, to send for the Outaways, who came down on the first notice, and were very much displeased at what the Chippeways had done.

Since the arrival of the Outaways, they have done everything in their power to serve us; and with what prisoners the Chippeways had given them, and what they have bought, I have now with me Lieut. Lesley and eleven privates; and the other four of the garrison, who are yet living, remain in the hands of the Chippeways.

The Chippeways, who are superior in number to the Ottaways, have declared in council to them that if they do not remove us out of the fort, they will cut off all communication to this post, by which means all the convoys of merchants from Montreal, La Baye, St. Joseph, and the upper posts, would perish. But if the news of your posts being attacked (which they say was the reason why they took up the hatchet) be false, and you can send up a strong reinforcement with provisions, &c., accompanied by some of your savages, I believe the post might be re-established again.

Since this affair happened, two canoes arrived from Montreal, which put it in my power to make a present to the Ottawa nation, who very well deserve anything that can be done for them.

I have been very much obliged to Messrs. Langlade, and Farli, the interpreter, as likewise to the Jesuit, for the many good offices they have done us on this occasion. The Priest seems inclinable to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man, and had a great deal to say with the savages, hereabout, who will believe every thing he tells them, on his return, which I hope will be soon. The Outaways say they will take Lieut. Lesley, me, and the eleven men which I mentioned before were in their hands, up to their village, and there keep us, till they hear what is doing at your post. They have sent this canot (canoe) for that purpose. I refer you to the Priest for the particulars of this melancholy affair, and am, dear sir,

Yours, very sincerely,

[Signed]

GEO. ETHERINGTON.

To MAJOR GLADWYN.

P. S.—The Indians that are to carry the Priest to Detroit, will not undertake to land him at the fort, but at some of the Indian villages near it; so you must not take it amiss that he does not pay you the first visit. And once more I beg that nothing may stop your sending of him back, the next day after his arrival, if possible, as we shall be at a great loss for the want of him; and I make no doubt that you will do all in your power to make peace, as you see the situation we are in, and send up

*Henry writes this name Farley, but the signature of the man himself is Jaques Farly, without an e, as may be seen in the Mackinaw Registers, in which he is often mentioned. According to Henry, this interpreter had been formerly in the service of the French commandant at Mackinaw. He is, however, mistaken in saying that Farly had married a Chippewa or Ottawa woman, to whom he was indebted for great influence with her tribe. The truth is, his wife was a Canadian—Marie Josette Dumouchel, by whom he had several children, namely, Josette, Marie, Charlotte, Albert, Andre, Vital and Louis Joseph. He located at Mackinaw about 1742.

provisions as soon as possible, and ammunition, as what we had was pillaged by the savages.

Adieu.

GEO. ETHERINGTON.*

The priest mentioned in Etherington's letter is Pere Du Jaunay, of whom we have already spoken. This courageous missionary, who had already rendered the greatest service to the English prisoners in the hands of the Ottawas, in order to be still farther useful to them, did not fear to expose himself to the dangers and fatigues of a long and monotonous canoe voyage upon Lake Huron. He accomplished his mission with fidelity, had an interview with Major Gladwyn, then left Detroit to return to Michillimakinac on the twentieth of June, 1763, as we learn by the following extract from a curious narrative entitled, "Diary of the Siege of Detroit:"

JUNE 20, 1763:—This morning the commandant gave to the Jesuit a memorandum of what he should say to the Indians and French at Michillimakinac, as also to Captain Etherington, seeing he did not choose to carry a letter, saying that if he was asked by the Indians if he had any, he would be obliged to say yes, as he had never told a lie in his life. He gave him a belt to give to the Ottawas there, desiring him to tell them that he was very well pleased with their not having meddled in an affair which must have brought on their ruin; and that if they would send their prisoners to Montreal, they would convince the General of their good intentions, for which they would probably be well rewarded.

He was to present to M. M. de Langlade and Farli his compliments, and thank them for their good offices, which he exhorted them to continue. They were to strive as much as possible to prevent all commerce with our enemies, above all, that of arms and ammunition. M. Langlade was authorized to command at the fort, in accordance with Captain Etherington's directions till further orders.†

After some weeks of captivity, Etherington, Leslie,‡ and some

*Parkman's Pontiac, ii, pp. 336, 337.

† This Diary forms vol. IV of Munsell's Historical Series; and this citation may be found on pp. 32, 33.

‡ Captain Etherington, it would appear from Graydon's Memoirs, was probably a native of Delaware, and early entered the army, serving first as a drummer and then as a sergeant. A wealthy widow of New Castle county, in Delaware, becoming enamored of him, purchased him a commission. He was made a Lieutenant in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, February 15, 1756, and appears to have served in the second battalion of that regiment, which shared in the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1758; in 1759 was under Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, and in the capture of Quebec; in April, 1760, in the second victory on the Plains of Abraham, serving as a captain from April 4, 1758. His conduct at Mackinaw betrayed carelessness. In 1770 he was promoted to the rank of Major, and in September 1775, he was made a Lieutenant-Colonel. At this period he would seem to have been on furlough among his Delaware friends, and repairing to Philadelphia with a view of sailing for England, he was required, on the eighth of September, in that year, to give his parole. His battalion of the Sixtieth regiment was sent to the West Indies, and stationed at Antigua to the end of the Revolutionary war. He was advanced to the rank of a Colonel in the army May 16, 1782, and his name appears for the last time in the Army List in 1787. As Major John D. Harris succeeded him as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixtieth regiment January 26, 1788, it is reasonable to conclude that he died near the close of 1787.

Of Etherington's associate at Mackinaw, Lieutenant Leslie, we cannot trace him with any certainty. On page 31, of the Diary of the Siege of Detroit, edited by Franklin B. Hough,

other Englishmen who had escaped the massacre of Michillimackinac, were sent to Montreal under a strong escort of Indians, and arrived in that city in the ensuing August. As for Henry, he succeeded, after many adventures, in escaping from the hands of the Ojibwas, thanks to the intervention of a Canadian named Cadot* from Sault de St. Marie, who had great influence over this tribe to which he was allied through his wife. This English trader afterwards carried on the fur trade in partnership with M. Cadot, and only returned to Montreal in 1776.

After the war, Augustin de Langlade continued as a trader at Green Bay, of which he was one of the oldest inhabitants.

Grignon relates, in his Memoirs, that, about 1770, one day an Indian dropped in at Langlade's store for the apparent purpose of buying an Indian hatchet. At his request, Langlade took a hatchet from under the counter and handed it to him to examine. The Indian expressing a wish to see others, Langlade stooped down to select another, but at the instant of rising, the Indian made a motion as if to strike the old trader. Quick as lightning, the little daughter of Charles de Langlade, seven years old, seeing the threatening gesture of the Indian, cried out with fright, "Grandpa, he is going to cut your neck." Langlade straightened himself instantly on hearing the alarming cry of the child, and with a blow of the hatchet knocked the Indian down. Raising himself painfully, the Indian stammered forth excuses more or less probable. But Langlade replied that the thing was quite too serious to be passed off as a joke, and there the matter rested.

Augustin de Langlade, not very long after this incident, closed a life crowded with similar adventures. His death occurred about 1777, aged not far from seventy-five years, and he was buried in the old cemetery at Green Bay. He is represented as a very good man, possessed of agreeable manners, fond of repose, but quick to

Leslie's first name is inserted in brackets as James, but this must be an error. As Etherington belonged to the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, it is reasonable to suppose that Leslie did also; and there was no James Leslie connected with the regiment. William Leslie was commissioned as Ensign Oct. 22, 1758; and Lieutenant May 30, 1759; and after 1763 his name disappears from the list of officers of the regiment, which was at that time largely reduced. In 1764 a Lieutenant William Leslie appears for the first time in the Forty-fourth Regiment, and disappears from the army list in 1776. There was another and younger William Leslie, son of the Scotch Earl of Levin, who shared in the affair of the Great Bridge, Virginia, in 1775, and was mortally wounded in the battle of Princeton, January 2, 1777, in his twenty-sixth year. L. C. D.

*Jonathan Carver thus mentions Cadot in his *Travels through North America* in 1766, 1767, and 1768. At the upper end of the straits of St. Marie, says he, there is a fort to which they give their name, and which is commanded by M. Cadot, a French Canadian; he is permitted to retain the command of the fort, since he is the proprietor of the surrounding lands.

resent an injury. He was devotedly attached to the Catholic religion. The missionaries always found in him a firm support, and he contributed not a little to lighten their task, which was often heavy and hard in those isolated regions, and among the *coureurs de bois* of the North-West. He especially assisted the labors of the Jesuit Fathers, Coquar, Du Jaunay, La Marinie, and LeFranc, who who preached at Mackinaw and the neighboring posts. We find that in 1756, he was discharging the duties of a church-warden at Mackinaw. The registers also show his name seventeen times as a witness to certificates of marriage,* and twenty-three times as god-father,† between 1743 and 1760.

After his death, his wife probably returned to live with the Indians near Michillimakinac. It is known that on the fourteenth of September, 1782, Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair, of Michillimakinac gave Madame Langlade permission to go to Green Bay and take possession of her property there. This is a copy of the permit:

By the Hon. PATRICK SINCLAIR, Esq., etc., etc.

Madame Langlade is permitted to go to the Bay, and there to enter into possession of her houses, gardens, farms, and property. She takes a servant with her.

Given under my hand and seal at the post, this 14th day of September, 1782,

PATRICK SINCLAIR, (L. S.,)
Lieutenant-Governor.

By order of the Lieutenant-Governor, JOHN COATS.

Neither the date, nor the circumstances of the death of the wife of Augustin de Langlade are known to us, only she must have passed away not very long after the date of Sinclair's permit, as her great-grandson, Augustin Grignon, born in 1780, never saw her, nor did he hear any thing of her death among his earliest remembrances.

When the war of the American Revolution broke out, Charles de Langlade was forty-six years old, but his age sat lightly upon him. At the solicitation of Captain De Peyster‡ of Michillimakinac, he resolved, if his services were required, to take an active part in the war, which, according to the "*Miscellanies*" of this officer,

* See Appendix No. 2.

† See Appendix No. 1.

‡ Arent Schuyler De Peyster was born in New York, June 27, 1736. In 1755, he entered the eighth regiment, or Kings Infantry; served in different parts of North America under his uncle, Colonel Peter Schuyler; subsequently became commander at Michillimakinac, Detroit, and several places in Upper Canada. Captain De Peyster contributed not a little by his influence over the savages, in prevailing on them to adhere to the interests of the English during the Revolutionary war. After having attained the rank of Colonel, and having commanded his regiment many years, he retired to Dumfries, in Scotland, where he died at the age of eighty-seven years, in November, 1822.

"secured in our interest all the Western Indians." Indeed, he was very soon authorized to raise an Indian force, "and attack the rebels every time he met them," to use the language of Captain De Peyster's orders.

Embodying a numerous force of Sioux, Sacs, Foxes, Menomonees, Winnebagoes, Ottawas and Chippewas, Langlade marched for Montreal. Upon their arrival in that city, a grand council was held with all the ceremonies so dear to the Indians. Larocque, the interpreter of the Sioux, being unable to fulfill his functions, Langlade translated the speeches of the chiefs of that tribe into the Chippewa dialect, which was familiar to almost all the Indians of the Northwest, interpreting afterwards into French all that was said in Chippewa. It is well known that a war feast preceded most Indian expeditions; and care was taken on this occasion, that this ancient and solemn custom should not be omitted. At the banquet which was given, an ox was roasted whole, and served to these voracious guests who speedily devoured it. Grignon's Memoir does not designate any of the particular services rendered by Langlade at the head of the warriors. It simply says that he took part in engagements under the orders of Major Campbell, in the English army commanded by General Burgoyne, upon the borders of Lake Champlain, and that he went with new recruits to Canada several times during the war.

The army of General Burgoyne, about eighty-five hundred soldiers, and five hundred savages strong, was to invade New York and effect its junction with General Howe at Albany. It assembled at Crown Point the thirtieth of June, 1777, and began its movement early in July. It had been proposed, says the Canadian historian, Garneau, to join with them a large number of Canadians; but in spite of their coldness and uncertainty as to the future, the mass of the people were but little disposed to fight against the revolution. Thus Burgoyne was able to induce only one hundred and fifty inhabitants to follow him,* the others were overwhelmed with fatigue duties at home.†

Langlade rejoined Burgoyne's army with his savages at Skenes-

*Anburey, in his Travels, affirms that three hundred Canadians were enrolled in the army of Burgoyne. "This nation," says he, "sought not to be involved in a war of invasion which would expose them to reprisals on their own territory." But Burgoyne, in his State of the Expedition from Canada, page 10, declares positively that the number of Canadians who served in his army did not exceed one hundred and fifty.

†Histoire du Canada, vol. iii, p. 29.

borough, now Whitehall, at the end of July, 1777. He was accompanied by his brave old friend, Chevalier Luc du la Corne St. Luc,* who, though sixty-six years old, had not hesitated at the request of the Governor of Canada, Sir Guy Carleton, to take the direction of the savage bands which had come to reinforce the English army.

According to Burgoyne, these children of the wilderness did not render all the assistance that was expected of them. They delighted only in pillage and theft, and were guilty of frightful murders. When there was the most need of their service, they began to disband, and very soon not one remained in camp. On this subject we adduce the testimony of Anburey, an officer of the English army, whose account is based entirely upon that of Burgoyne:

The General showed great resentment to the Indians upon this occasion,† and laid restraints upon their dispositions to commit other enormities. He was the more exasperated, as they were Indians of the remoter tribes who had been guilty of this offence, and whom he had been taught to look upon as more warlike. I believe, however, he has found equal depravity of principle reigns throughout the whole of them, and the only pre-eminence of the remoter tribes consists in their ferocity. From this time, there was an apparent change in their tempers; ill-humor and mutinous disposition strongly manifested itself, when they found the plunder of the country was controlled; their interpreters, who had a *douceur* in the capacity, being likewise debarred from those emoluments, were profligate enough to promote dissension, desertion and revolt.

In this instance, however, Monsieur St. Luc is to be acquitted of these factions, though I believe he was but too sensible of their pining after the accustomed horrors, and that they were become as impatient of his control as of all others; however, through the guide and interest of authority, and, at the sametime, the affectionate love he bore to his old associates, he was induced to cover the real cause under frivolous pretences of complaint.

At the pressing instance of St. Luc, a council was called, when, to the General's great astonishment, those nations he had the direction of, declared their intention of returning home, at the same time demanding the General to concur with and assist them. This event was extremely embarrassing, as it was giving up part of the force which had been obtained at a great expense to Government, and from whose assist-

*Luc de la Corn St. Luc, Chevalier de St. Louis, is one of the Canadians who exercised the greatest influence over the savages. One of his first exploits was the capture of Fort Clinton, in 1747. He distinguished himself at the battle of Ticonderoga, where he carried off a convoy of one hundred and fifty of Gen. Abercrombie's wagons. He took part in the battle on the Plains of Abraham; then at the victory of St. Foy, near Quebec, where he was wounded. He wished to go to France after the conquest of Canada; but the vessel *l'Auguste*, on which he embarked, was lost upon the coast of Cape Breton, November fifteenth, 1761; and after this shipwreck of melancholy celebrity, in which, out of one hundred and twenty-one passengers, only seven escaped death, he returned to Canada, making a long and painful march through the woods, and remained permanently in the country. After the American war, St. Luc was appointed Legislative Councillor, and stoutly defended the political rights of the Canadians at an epoch when they were not always respected. He died at an advanced age.

†The murder of Miss Jane McCrea.

ance so much was looked for; on the other hand, if a cordial reconciliation was made with them, it must be by indulgence in all their excesses of blood and rapine. Nevertheless the General was to give an immediate answer; he firmly refused their proposal, insisted upon their adherence to the restraints that had been established; and at the same time, in a temperate manner represented to them their ties of faith, of generosity and horror, adding many other persuasive arguments, to encourage them in continuing their services.

This answer seemed to have some weight with them, as many of the tribes nearest home only begged, that some part of them might be permitted to return to their harvest, which was granted. Some of the remote tribes seemed to retract from their proposal, professing great zeal for the service. Notwithstanding this, to the astonishment of the General, and every one belonging to the army, the desertion took place the next day, when they went away by forces, loaded with such plunder as they had collected, and have continued to do so daily, till scarce one of those that joined us at Skeenesborough is left.*

If Burgoyne was unable to obtain more efficient aid from the savages, he had only himself to blame; for, if we may believe the testimony of their principal commandant, La Corne St. Luc, Burgoyne had fallen into the fatal errors of more than one of his predecessors, and had not acted in such a manner as to gain the confidence of the Indian tribes, who had come many hundreds of leagues to fight under the English flag.

We know that having won some easy triumphs, Burgoyne afterwards suffered many defeats, and was at length ignominiously beaten at Saratoga, October fourteenth, 1777, when he with his army was obliged to capitulate. This disaster caused an immense sensation in England, and public opinion almost unanimously condemned the unfortunate General for the incapacity and improvidence he had shown. Burgoyne tried to justify his conduct by pamphlets, and by speeches in the House of Commons, where he had powerful friends. Desirous to throw the responsibility of his reverses upon others, he attacked with severity the conduct of the Canadians and Indians, complaining bitterly of their indifference or desertion, and involving their intrepid commander in the same blame.†

We have before us a speech pronounced by Burgoyne in the House of Commons, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1778, in which

* Anburey's Travels, Lond. Edition, 1791, i, pp. 329-332.

† This General, says Garneau, wished to throw the blame upon the Canadians; but in his army of eight thousand men, there were but one hundred and fifty combatants from our province. Burgoyne complained also in unmeasured terms of the conduct of M. de Luc, commandant of the savages; but this officer easily repelled the attacks of a man who was a better talker than Captain.

*11—His.

he brings the most injurious accusations against the character of La Corne St. Luc. This latter officer passed a part of the preceding winter in London, and had not hesitated to declare that Burgoyne did not seem to him so superior a commander as had been believed; hence, the resentment of the unfortunate General against this Canadian officer:

"Sir, a gentleman has been in London great part of the winter, who I wish had been called to your bar. It is for the sake of truth only I wish it; for he is certainly no friend of mine. His name is St. Luc le Corne, a distinguished partisan of the French in the last war, and now in the British service as a leader of the Indians. He owes us, indeed, some service, having been formerly instrumental in scalping many hundred British soldiers upon the very ground where, though with a different sort of latitude, he was this year employed. He is by nature, education, and practice, artful, ambitious and a courtier. To the grudge he owed me for controlling him in the use of the hatchet and scalping-knife, it was natural to his character to reccomend himself to ministerial favor, by any censure in his power to cast upon an unfashionable General. He was often closeted by a noble Lord in my eye (Lord George Germain;) and with all these disadvantages, as he has not been examined here, I wish the noble Lord to inform the House, what this man has presumed to say of my conduct with the Indians. I know, in private companies, his language has been, that the Indians might have done great services, but they were discharged. Sir, if to restrain them from murder was to discharge them, I take with pride the blame—they were discharged. That circumstance apart, I should say that the Indians and Mr. St. Luc at the head of them, deserted."*

To this summons Lord Germain responded, that he had indeed had interviews with M. St. Luc, in which the latter had declared that General Burgoyne was a good officer with regular troops; but that he did not seem to like Indians, nor to have taken the measures necessary to retain their good will. In short, St. Luc had said to him, †"General Burgoyne is a brave man; but he is as heavy as a German."

When intelligence of the speech of General Burgoyne reached

* Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XIX, p. 1181.

† Ibid, p. 1195.

de la Corne St. Luc, he replied to it by a very vigorous letter, dated at Quebec, October 23, 1778, which appeared in French, in the London papers. It produced an impression far from favorable to the cause of his accuser. In this letter, St. Luc says to General Burgoyne, that he has no right to treat him so indecorously; that his origin is as good as his own—his adversary was a natural son—that his fifty years of service were ample demonstration that he had never shrank from the dangers of war, and that he had achieved a reputation long before he, Burgoyne, had had an opportunity to destroy one of the finest armies that had ever come into the country. He added, that if the Indians had little by little deserted the English army, it was because Burgoyne had not given them enough attention, nor taken sufficient care of them. In the affair at Bennington, August 16, 1777, when several hundred of the English were killed or taken prisoners, among whom were a good number of savages, the Indians were astonished to see, for instance, that Burgoyne sent no detachment to rally the stragglers of the vanquished body, or to succor the wounded, of whom many died.

“This conduct,” says St. Luc, “did not give them a very high idea of the care that you would take of those who fought under your orders. The indifference which you manifested as to the fate of the Indians who took part in this [Bennington] expedition, to the number of a hundred and fifty, disgusted them to the last degree with the service; for a large number of savages had perished on the battle-field with their redoubtable chief, and of sixty-one Canadians, forty-five only escaped death.*

In the council which was held after this unfortunate affair, St. Luc informed Burgoyne of the discontent of the savages, which very soon broke out in so open a manner, that they left the English camp altogether, because Burgoyne refused them provisions, shoes, and the services of an interpreter.

“Respecting the reason for having deserted the army,” says St. Luc to Burgoyne, “you should recollect that it is you who were the cause of my departure; for, two days after the savages had left, you saw your error, and Brigadier General Fraser had already foreseen the consequences of your conduct in regard to the savages.

*Captain F. Montague, who took part in Burgoyne's campaign, declared, when questioned by a Committee of the House of Commons, on the 1st of June, 1779, that many savages quitted the army at different times after the defeat at Bennington, which corroborates the assertion of St. Luc on this point. See *State of the Expedition from Canada*, p. 75.

You then sent for me to come to the Brigadier's tent, and you asked me to return to Canada, bearing dispatches to General Carleton praying His Excellency to treat the Indians with kindness, and to send them back to you. This I did, and I should have joined the army, had not the communications been interrupted. * *

"Be that as it may, notwithstanding my advanced age, sixty-seven years, I am ready to cross the ocean to justify myself before the King, my master, and before my country, from the ill-founded accusation that you have brought against me, although I do not at all care what you personally think of me."

This letter, full of noble pride, received no reply that we know of, and Burgoyne contented himself with making a soothing allusion in a speech which he made before the House of Commons, the fourteenth of the following December.

While justifying himself thus completely, St. Luc at the same time revealed in its true light Langlade's conduct in this campaign; for, bound together by a close friendship, holding similar positions, they acted under the same inspiration, and had in view only the true interests of the cause for which they fought. If neither was well understood by General Burgoyne, his want of tact and justice towards them, were only too fully avenged at a later period.

The Indian allies of the English at the end of the year 1778, received orders to assemble at l'Arbre Croche, in Michigan, to reinforce Lieutenant Governor Hamilton who was marching against the American General Clark. The latter had taken possession of the whole region of the Illinois, and it was important that opposition to further encroachments should be organized with all possible speed. His army, which was small, included two French companies; one commanded by Captain M'Carty, and the other, from Kaskaskia, by Captain Charleville.

The Indians, however, seemed not at all anxious to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of either cause. Neither the English, nor the Americans had taken means to enlist their sympathies; and they had reason to keep aloof from a war entirely foreign to their interests, and whose only effect would be to decimate them still further.

Pierre Queret, and Gautier de Vierville, Langlade's nephew, went each in turn, to attend a grand council at Milwaukee, to urge the savages to l'Arbre Croche; but they were obstinate, and would not

take up the tomahawk. Langlade then resolved to make a more successful attempt. His arguments were unavailing; but familiar with all the usages and superstitions of the savages, he availed himself of them at this juncture. He erected a lodge in the midst of the Indian village, with a door at each end; he then had several dogs killed, preparatory to the dog feast, and placed the still quivering heart of one of these animals on a stick at each opening. This done, he invited the savages to the dog feast, of which they are very fond. Afterwards he chanted a war song, and passing around the lodge from one door to the other, tasted at each a piece of dog's heart. This signified that if brave hearts beat in the bosoms of the Indians, they would follow his example, and accompany him to war. It was an ancient custom, and they recognized the force of Langlade's appeal; so one after another they chanted the old war song, and directed their steps in large numbers to l'Arbre Croche.

A grand council was afterwards held, during which heated speeches were made. The Indian force commanded by Langlade and de Vierville embarked promptly in the numerous canoes on Lake Michigan to go and join the English troops. Upon arriving at St. Joseph, Langlade learned with regret that his efforts were useless; for Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton, had been obliged to surrender fort Sackville on the twenty-fourth of February, 1779, and had been taken prisoner by Colonel Clark. The Indians who had been led to hope for more than one rich trophy as a result of the campaign they had undertaken, returned to l'Arbre Croche utterly disappointed, not bringing back a single scalp.

As this was the last American expedition into the West, Langlade had nothing further to do with this war, which ended in the independence of the United States.

Langlade was always, during these different campaigns, accompanied by several lieutenants who, with rare courage, shared his good and evil fortune. Chief among these heroes was his nephew, Gautier de Vierville, who has often been mentioned in the course of this narrative. This man of tried courage gave Langlade many proofs of his entire devotion to him. He was present at Braddock's defeat, and in the terrible battle of the Plains of Abraham where he fought like a lion. He afterwards took part in the Revolutionary war, during which his courageous conduct earned him

a commission as Captain. After peace was declared, he went to live a Michillimakinac, where he cultivated land, acting from time to time as interpreter between the English Government and the Savages.

De Vierville had married Miss Chevalier, a woman of rare beauty. Two daughters were the result of this union, who were very respectably married; the elder to Captain Henry Fisher, and the younger to Michael Brisbois, both of Prairie du Chien. He retired from Michillimakinac about 1798, to pass the remainder of his days with his son-in-law, Brisbois, where he died about 1803, aged about sixty-five years; his wife following him to the grave some years later. Fisher and Brisbois were at this time reckoned among the most influential citizens of Prairie du Chien, and both have left numerous descendants who deservedly rank among the most worthy and respectable in the country.

Amable de Gere, better known under the name of La Rose, was born at Montreal, and in his youth emigrated to Michillimakinac. After having taken part in the latest battles which decided the fate of France in Canada, he devoted himself to the fur trade as much on his own account as that of other traders. He resided at Green Bay many years, and then returned to Montreal where he finished his days. He was then very old and a bachelor.

Pierre Queret—Caree, as Grignon pronounced it—another of Langlade's valiant companions in arms, was also a native of Montreal. He was engaged in the fur trade during many years, and accompanied Colonel Robert Dickson, in the fall of 1812, on an expedition which barely escaped a disastrous termination. Colonel Dickson wishing to rally the Indians of the northwest to the cause of the English, left Michillimakinac with Pierre Queret for the purpose of distributing presents to the scattered tribes in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien. Being surprised by the cold sooner than they expected, on Lake Winnebago, they were obliged to pass the winter on Garlick Island, between Oshkosh and Neenah. In the spring they went to Prairie du Chien, when, having made liberal presents to the Indians, they took up the line of march for Michillimakinac.

One day when the two travelers were encamped at the mouth of the Monistique River—the Manistee of the present day—which empties into Lake Michigan above Green Bay, Queret resolved to pro-

fit by the contrary winds which prevented their departure, to go in search of the game so abundant in the surrounding forests. But misfortune overtook him, for, carried too far by his ardor, he lost his way in the woods where he nearly perished. Colonel Dickson not knowing what had become of his companion, set about searching for him in the solitude; but after two days of useless wanderings, he thought he must abandon him to his fate, and continued on to Michillimakinac.

To heighten his misfortune, Queret lost his tinder, and though he had enough ammunition, his gun, his sole chance for safety, was of no further use to him. What to do in the wilderness, far from any habitation, without food, and without any means of subsistence? He had not even wild fruits to satisfy his craving hunger, for it was not later than May or June, and he was forced to content himself with roots and herbs. One day when he was well-nigh dying of hunger, a hawk, flying over his head, let fall from his talons a partridge, and he instantly devoured this unexpected morsel. Thanks to this timely supply, he was able to drag himself with difficulty to the shore of the Lake where he found a half-decayed fish, which was quickly swallowed. From there he kept along the Lake till he reached some habitation at Point St. Ignace, six miles from Michillimakinac, after having wandered in the woods fifty days. Queret was hardly recognized upon his return. He was no longer man, but a frightful spectre, scarcely animated by the breath of life. His privations and fatigues had almost deprived him of reason, and the greatest care was needed to secure his restoration, which was but slowly accomplished. Sometime afterwards he went to Canada, where he ended his adventurous career.

Louis Hamelin settled, after the war, at Michillimakinac with his family. One winter day, while he was arranging the lines for trout fishing on Lake Michigan, a violent wind detached a piece of ice on which he was standing, and drove it far out into the Lake. He passed nine days in this perilous position, without nourishment and without shelter, exposed to the cold Lake winds. Thanks to a favorable change, he was at length blown back to the shore upon this novel kind of a raft, after having many times despaired of his safety.

LaFortune, another Canadian, had also been a fellow soldier with Langlade. He married an Ottawa woman; and lived with the savages near Michillimakinac, where he was distinguished as a hunter.

Macard—Machar, as Grignon has it—was allied to the Grignon family, and was long a trader in the North-West. To rare courage he joined great firmness, which gave him much influence over the Indians. He died in Detroit about 1807, at a very advanced age, leaving two sons and a daughter.

Many other Canadians might probably be mentioned as having taken an active part in expeditions conducted by Langlade, but these are all the names preserved by the Memoir of Grignon.

During the Anglo-American war, an English trader named J. Long, who, in company with twenty Canadians, and thirty-six Indians—among the latter was Wa-ba-shaw, a noted Sioux chief, visited Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1780, says that there was then at that place a town of considerable note, built after the Indian manner, where the trafficking Indian traders had deposited their furs, under the care of Captain Langlade, interpreter to the King. On his way from Michillimakinac to Prairie du Chien, Long met two hundred Fox Indians. In reply to a speech from their chief, Wa-ba-shaw declared in Long's behalf, that their Great Father had sent them by this route to take away the furs and peltries which were at Prairie du Chien, under the guard of Captain Langlade, for fear that the Big Knives—that is, the Americans—would seize them. "Seven days after this interview," adds this *voyageur*, "we arrived at Prairie du Chien, where we found the merchants' peltry, in packs, in a log house, guarded by Captain Langlade and some Indians, who were rejoiced to see us. After resting some time, we took out about three hundred packs of the best skins, and filled the canoes. Sixty more which remained, we burned, to prevent the enemy from taking them, having ourselves no room to stow any more, and proceeded on our journey back to Michillimakinac. About five days after our departure, we were informed that the Americans came to attack us; but, to their extreme mortification, we were out of their reach."*

* Voyages of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, etc., by J. Long, London, 1791, pp. 148 to 152.

What led to this expedition to rescue the furs and peltries at Prairie du Chien, may be briefly stated. Jean Marie Ducharme, in retaliation for supposed injuries he had received as a trader, from the Spaniards in the St. Louis region, led a large Indian expedition from Mackinaw, in the spring of 1780, against the Spanish settlements of the Upper Mississippi. In carrying this enterprise into effect, some portion of his Indian army, composed of Chippewas, Ottawas, Menomonees, and Winnebagoes, got involved with Colonel Clark's American forces stationed at Cahokia, only four or five miles from St. Louis. The result was, that Clark not long after detached Colonel Montgomery, with a considerable force, to chastise the Indians residing on the Illinois River; and this invasion of the Indian country, and the terror of Clark's name, spread consternation among the Indians and traders throughout the Northwest. Hence the haste of the traders to save their valuable stores of furs and peltries at Prairie du Chien; and according to Long, they were not without cause for their alarm.

Although in his capacity of Indian Agent, it often became necessary for Langlade to undertake long journeys, going to Prairie du Chien, to Michillimakinac, or to Toronto, he stayed most of the time at Green Bay. This post was far from having the importance then, which it afterwards acquired. In 1785, it did not contain more than seven white families, who with their domestics numbered about fifty-six souls. These families were composed as follows: Charles de Langlade, his wife, two Pawnee* slaves, and three domestics; Lagral and his wife; Jean Baptiste Brunet, his wife, three children, and a domestic; Amable Roy, his wife, two Pawnee slaves, a domestic, and Jean Baptiste Leduc, an old trader, who lived with them; Joseph Roy, his wife, five children and a domestic; a young man named Marchand, agent of a trading company of Michillimakinac, and four domestics. Langlade, Grignon, Amable Roy, and Marchand lived on the east side of the Fox River, while Brunet, Langral, and Josph Roy, resided on the opposite bank.

James Porlier was probably the next colonist who settled at Green Bay, arriving in 1791. The following year came Charles Reaume. Other Canadians soon after arrived to swell the ranks of the little colony, so that, in 1812, they had a population of about two hundred and fifty souls.

The principal Canadian inhabitants of Green Bay were, M. Duchesneau, Louis Gravel, Barthelemy Chevalier, Pierre Chalifoux, Jacques and Nicholas Vieaux, Pierre Carboneau, Alexandre Garriepy, Louis Beaupre, Prisque Huyotte, Joseph Ducharme, Jean-Baptiste Langevin, Amable Normand, Jean-Baptiste Lavigne, Augustin Bonneterre, Joseph Boucher, Antoine Le Boeuf, Augustin Thibeau, Louis Bourdon, Alexandre Dumont, Georges Fortier, Jean-Baptiste Laborde, Amable Durocher, Jacques Ecuyer, Basile Larocque, Dominique Brunet, Joseph Jourdain, Pierre Brunet, Pierriche Grignon, Pierre Grignon, Charles Grignon, Louis, Augustin and Jean-Baptiste Grignon.†

* Nicholas Perrot writes Panys: Charlevoix, Panis; and contemporary writers, Pawnee.

†According to the treaty concluded at Cedar Point, Fox River, near Green Bay, Sept. 3, 1836, between the Menomonee Indians and the American authorities, the latter agreed to pay the following claims:

Augustin Grignon.....	\$10,000 00
William Powell and Robert Grignon.....	4,250 00
Charles A. Grignon.....	10,000 00
Jacques Porlier	7,500 00
Heirs of Louis Beaupre.....	1,500 00
Dominique Brunette	231 50
Charles Grignon.....	1,200 00
Joseph Rolette.....	1,750 00
Charles A., and Alexandre Grignon.....	750 00

Next to Charles de Langlade, his son-in-law, Pierre Grignon was the most important person in Green Bay. At first a *voyageur* in the Lake Superior region, Grignon afterwards traded on his own account at Green Bay, before the year 1763. He had by his first wife, a Menomonee woman, three children; one died young in consequence of a fall; another died at Montreal where he was at school, and the third, Pierriche, raised a family. He married the second time, Miss Louise Domitilde de Langlade, who bore him nine children of whom the following are the names, with dates of their respective births: Pierre Antoine, Oct. 21, 1777; Charles, June 14, 1779; Augustin, June 27, 1780; Louis, September 21, 1783; Jean-Baptiste, July 23, 1785; Domitilde, March 21, 1787; Marguerite, March 23, 1789; Hippolyte, September 14, 1790; and Amable, December, 1795.

Missionaries were rare at this period, and from 1745 to 1820, their visits to Green Bay were few and at long intervals.* In 1784 or 1785, Grignon happened to be at Michillimakinac, where he learned that Pere Payette, a missionary, was about to visit the Island. He thought it his duty to avail himself of the occasion to pay his respects to the apostle of God, and to ask him to baptize his children. He immediately dispatched a messenger to Green Bay, who, in a birch bark canoe, brought back Grignon's wife and children, having safely traversed the two hundred and forty miles that separate that settlement from Michillimakinac. They were

Paul Grignon.....	\$5,500 00
Joseph Jourdain	50 00
Aneyas Grignon	2,500 00
Pierre Grignon, deceased, by Robert and Pierre B. Grignon	6,000 00
Stanislas Chappue.....	2,600 00
Louis Grignon.....	7,250 00

On the first of November of the following year, a treaty was also concluded between the American Government and the Winnebagoes, when the following sums were paid by the United States, at the request of the chiefs, in consideration of services which had been rendered to their tribe :

Nicholas Boilvin.....	\$ 6,000 00
To his four children, (each).....	4,000 00
Catharine Myott (?)	1,000 00
Hyacinthe St. Cyr.....	1,000 00
Widow Henry Gratiot, (in trust for his eight children)	10,000 00
To the children of the interpreter, Pierre Paquette.....	3,000 00
Joseph Brisbois	2,000 00
Jean Roy	2,000 00
Antoine Grignon	2,000 00
Jane F. Rolette	2,000 00
Therese Roy	1,000 00
Domitilde Brisbois	1,000 00

* In a letter of Rev. F. Bonduel dated Detroit, 1st June, 1834, we read: "Green Bay, situated on the west of Lake Michigan, is one of the places which suffered most owing to the departure of the Jesuit Fathers. The Catholics of this little French colony lived sometimes ten, twenty, and thirty years without seeing a priest. Certain pious persons had, however, taken particular pains to instruct the children in Christian doctrine, and so the faith remained there unimpaired until the time when Bishop Fenwick, in recompense for their zeal, gave them a Catholic priest."—Annals of the Propagation of the Faith. vol. III.

all received with open arms by the good missionary, who was visibly affected by this evidence of their attachment to the religion of their fathers.

Grignon died in November, 1795, between fifty-five and sixty years of age. He was tall, and had extraordinary muscular vigor, and to these physical advantages he added rare affability and strict probity. He was very hospitable, and never failed to invite each year a company of Canadian traders to some agreeable reunion, where good wine, joyful songs, and thrilling stories were not lacking. Some years after his death, his wife was married to a Canadian named Jean Baptiste Langevin.

Some of the Green Bay colonists, mentioned above, possessed slaves. Langlade had two, given him by the Ottawas, who were of the Osage tribe. He treated them, not as slaves, but as faithful servants, and they appeared well satisfied with their fate. One of them remained in his service all his life, and to the other, Antoine, he gave his liberty after twelve years of servitude. He continued with Langlade as a domestic for some time, and then returned to the Osage tribe, where he soon became a chief. The slaves of other colonists, almost all Pawnees,* were not always as well treated. For instance, Jean Baptiste Brunet, so maltreated a negro slave, whom he had bought of a St. Louis trader for a hundred dollars, that Campbell, Indian agent for the Americans, thought it his duty to take him away from him. It is however certain that such cases as this were rare.

The Grignon memoir states that Charles de Langlade married at Montreal, about 1759, Miss Charlotte Bourassa, daughter of M. Laurent Bourassa, a rich merchant of that city. This statement is incorrect. The marriage of Langlade with Miss Charlotte Ambrosine Bourassa took place at Mackinaw, August twelfth, 1754, and was solemnized by the Rev. Father Le Franc, Jesuit missionary, in the presence of divers witnesses, among whom was M. Herbin, commandant of the post.† Besides, the father of Miss Bour-

* Bougainville, in his *Memoire sur l'etat de Nouvelle France a l'epoque de la guerre de sept ans*, 1757, says that the Panis tribe were, in America, in similar position to that of the negroes in Europe. Speaking of the trading post at Saskatchewan, then called Poskoiac, he makes the following observation on the subject of the Panis: "One of the traders of this post," says he, "is a Panis; it is a savage nation, situated on the Missouri, estimated at about 12,000 men; other nations make war upon them and sell us their slaves. It is the only savage nation that can be thus treated."

† Copy of the marriage certificate of Langlade as preserved in the Mackinaw register:

This day, the twelfth of August, 1754, I have subscribed as missionary priest of the Com-

assa, whose name was not Laurent but Rene, residing not at Montreal but at Mackinaw, where he must have settled about 1742. He was a retired *voyageur*.

Rene Bourassa was born at La Prairie, near Montreal, about the twenty-first of December, 1688. For his first wife he married Agnes Gagne, October twenty-third, 1710; and for his second, Catharine Lieger, September twenty-eight, 1721. By his first marriage he had one son, Rene, who married Anne Charlotte Veronique Chevalier. Their children were, Rene, Francois, Anne Catharine, Daniel, Charles Louis, Anne Agnes, and Louis Francois Xavier. Whether Madame Langlade was born of his first or second marriage, we are ignorant. But in either case it is probable that she was brought up at La Prairie, where she received something of an education.

Madame Langlade seems to have resided in Mackinaw almost without interruption till near 1760. Nor was it without regrets that she left that post and removed to Green Bay, which was then a complete solitude, while Maekinaw was comparatively civilized, being occupied by a garrison commanded often by select officers, *d'elite*, as M. M. de Beaujeu, Louis de la Carne, Duplessis Faber, the Chevalier de Repentigny, Herbin, and others. She also had pleasant relations there, with quite a number of Canadian acquaintances.*

At Mackinaw she felt herself under the protection of the soldiers, but at Green Bay she must live in utter savagism, exposed to the attacks and insults of the natives. Now Madame Langlade, it was perceived, had a mortal fear of the denizens of the forest. At sight of them she experienced a strong nervous shock, and could not control the emotion which seized upon her. Hence, some one having one day spread a report that the savages were coming for hostile purpose, she ran to the neighbors to give them warning, and then hid herself under a pile of boards. The Indians did not make their appearance, and when she was found in this place, she scarcely breathed,

pany of Jesus, having received mutual consent to marriage between M. Charle Maras Sieur de l'Anglade, and Miss Charlotte Ambroisine Bourassa, both residents at this post, in the presence of the following witnesses:

WITNESSES:

BOURASSA,
N. BLONDEAU,
BOURASSA, JR.,
VOLANT,
ANNE VILLENEUVE,
AGATHE VILLENEUVE,
NANETTE CHEVALIER BOURASSA,
D'AILLEBOUST DE MANTELET,

D'AILLEBOUST LA MADELAINE,
CHARLE LANGLADE,
CHARLOTTE BOURASSA LANGLADE,
GOUNEVILLE,
RENE DE CONAGNE, JR.,
L. BISCAROT,
HERBIN,
Commandant of the Post.

M. L. LE FRANC,
Of the Company of Jesus.

*See appendix No. 3.

and seemed more dead than alive, so excessive had been her excitement.

At another time, seeing some Menomonee Indans enter the house, she flew into her bed-room, carefully fastening herself in. But curiosity for an instant outweighing her fear, she held the door ajar, and perceived all the savages seated around the room—only one of them, Pack-kau-sha, remained standing, and she concluded that he was watching for a chance to kill her. Carried away by a sudden excess of frenzy, she seized a long knife, grasped Pack-kau-sha by the collar, and making a desperate effort to stab him, she cried, "Pack-kau-sha, you rogue, you are a dead man." The Indians perceived that she was a prey to profound terror, and all laughed heartily, re-assuring her of their pacific intentions. During this scene, Langlade only said quietly to his wife, "What are you doing, my wife? Return to your room, and don't disturb us."

During the first months of her life at Green Bay, if Madame Langlade happened to see a canoe loaded with Indians, which seemed to be coming towards the shore, she would open the door and cry in a despairing tone, "They are coming, they are coming, now we shall all be massacred." It took her a long time to become used to this strange life, and to preserve her equanimity in the presence of these children of the forest.

Madame Langlade was remarkably beautiful, having a slender figure, regular features, and very black eyes. These physical gifts were allied to rare moral qualities, which secured her a general respect at Michillimakinac, and afterwards in Green Bay. She died at that place in 1818, about the age of seventy-five years.

By his union with Miss Bourassa, Langlade had two daughters. The eldest, Charlotte Catharine, born in 1756, was married to one Barcellon, and died the year after her marriage, leaving no child.*

* Her certificate of baptism, extracted from the Register of the Mission of Saint Ignace, at Mackinaw, is as follows:

This day, the twenty-eighth of April, one thousand seven hundred fifty-six, I certify that I have performed the ceremonies of holy baptism for Charlotte Catharine de Langlade, daughter of M. Charle de L'Anglade, squire, and officer in the marine forces, and of Charlotte Ambroise Bourassa, her father and mother. I had *privately baptized* her ("ondoyee") on the twenty-ninth of the previous January, at the Grand River, where she was born. The god-father was M. de Langlade, Sr., and the god-mother, Miss Bourassa. Mackinaw, on the year aforesaid.

M. L. LEFRANC,
Miss. of the Company of Jesus.

LANGLADE,
ANNE LEBIGEE.

The other, Louise Domitilde,* was married in 1776, at the age of seventeen, to Pierre Grignon. She was married a second time to Jean Baptiste Langevin.

Long before his marriage with Miss Bourassa, Langlade had by an Ottawa woman, a son Charles, whom he carefully educated at Montreal. This son came afterwards and settled at Green Bay and later at Michillimakinac, and he took part in the capture of this latter post, in 1812, under the command of Captain Roberts. He had married an Ottawa woman, who bore him two daughters, and two sons—Charles and Louis de Langlade. Louis took an active part in the last war with the United States, and by his courageous conduct attained the rank of Lieutenant. Bibaud, in the *Pantheon Canadien*, and the author of *Grandes Familles du Canada*, have confounded him with his ancestor, Charles de Langlade.

Langlade to the end of his life retained his position as superintendent of the Indians, which gave him a very good income. His services to the English cause during the Revolutionary war had been sufficiently appreciated to secure him a life annuity of eight hundred dollars, besides a grant of three thousand acres of land on the borders of the River Thames—then known under the name of La Trenche—in the Province of Ontario.

He had also considerable lands at Green Bay, which for a long time were cultivated, in his behalf by his son-in-law, Pierre Grignon. The American Government having, in 1823, established a commission to inquire into the titles of property in the Territory of Michigan, Langlade's daughter Domitilde—whose second marriage was to Jean-Baptiste Langevin, and not Longvine as the American text has it—claimed a square mile of land at Green Bay as belonging to her by right of inheritance, and her claim was confirmed by the commission.

The following is the document upon which she relied to establish her title to this large and valuable tract of land: "Laurent Filly being duly sworn, deposes and says, that Demetille Longvine [Dom-

* She had for god-father, M. de Beaujeu, commandant of the post of Mackinaw, as is evident from the following baptismal certificate:

To-day, the thirteenth of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, I have solemnly administered holy baptism to Louise Domitilde, legitimate daughter of M. Charles de l'Anglade and of Madam Charlotte Bourassa, her father and mother. The god-father was Monsieur de Beaujeu, commandant of the post; the god-mother M. de Langlade. At Mackinaw on the day and year as above.

BEAUJEU,
LANGLADE.

M. L. LEFRANC,
Missionary of the Company of the Jesus.

tilde Langevin] is the daughter of Charles Langlade, and the wife of Jean-Baptiste Longvine; and that to his own knowledge, the descendants of said Langlade have occupied the above described tract of land for the purpose of cutting hay and wood, since the year 1788."

Pierre Grignon, eldest son of the first husband of Domitilde Langlade, obtained also a recognition of his title to a considerable tract of land producing the following testimony:

GREEN BAY, *twenty-ninth August, 1822.*

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN, } ss.
County of Brown.

We the subscribers, do certify that we have lived at Green Bay, County and Territory aforesaid, for the last forty years, with the exception of occasional short absences, and that we are acquainted with the claims of all the inhabitants at the Bay; that Charles Langlade occupied a piece of ground lying and being on the west side of Fox River, Green Bay, immediately below the first creek that empties into said River, about fifteen acres in front on said River; and extending back indefinitely; said lot or parcel of land was reserved as a meadow, and for wood by the said Langlade, at least sixty years ago; that they know said land was occupied by said Charles Langlade, and Charles Langlade, Jr., and Pierre Grignon, for the last forty years, until the American troops took possession of this place.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, at the township of Green Bay, County and Territory aforesaid.

Signed by Louis Dallaire, Pierre Chalifou, Joseph, Roy, and Baptiste Brunet.

The following document taken from the report of the commissioners, will not be out of place here:

Entry of land claimed by inhabitants of Green Bay:

The undersigned representing before you the inhabitants of Green Bay, enter the claim of said inhabitants to a tract of land, situate on the east side of the River, opposite Fort Howard, containing two miles square [or two square miles?] more or less; bounded on the north by the waters of the Lake or Bay, and on the South by Demitelle Longevin, farmed without any interruption as meadow land in common by the said inhabitants of Green Bay, from 1795 up to this day, except a portion of said meadows taken away from them by military in 1817.

Signed by J. Porlier, John Lawe, C. Grignon, A. Grignon, L. Grignon, P. Grignon, Jean Baptiste Longevin; and subscribed and sworn to before J. Porlier, September seventeenth, 1823.*

Langlade also continued, notwithstanding his advanced age, at the head of the militia. To do honor to this military veteran, every year on the first of May, following an old custom of the Canadians, they planted in front of the residence of the Captain, a tall pine

* American State Paper, Public Lands, IV. 726,727.

flag staff. On saluting the May, which gave its name to the *fete*, with many a volley, it would become completely blackened over with powder before the close of the gala day. The hero of the *fete* accepted with pleasure these good natured and frank demonstrations from the surrounding Canadians, who were glad of an opportunity to manifest their respect and admiration for him.

Langlade, exhausted by age, and the fatigues of his laborious life, died in January, 1800, after an illness of only a fortnight. It is not difficult to understand the emotion caused by his death throughout all the North-West, where he was universally known and esteemed. The little colony at Green Bay went in a body to weep over his grave, which may still be seen in the old cemetery of the town.

The universal mourning caused by the death of Langlade was well merited, for the life of this hero was one long, brave combat for his country. After having nobly defended the French flag during many years, after having accomplished prodigies of valor for a cause irrevocably lost, he remained afterwards equally faithful to the English crown, showing on all occasions admirable devotion and courage. Few warriors could offer a finer record of services. He was fond of enumerating them. He had taken part in ninety-nine battles and skirmishes, and although in the evening of his life, he expressed a lively desire to go once more under fire in order to make it an even hundred, and complete his military crown.

But military skill and tried courage will not be Langlade's only title to the regards of posterity. He can also claim the glory, less striking perhaps, but not less meritorious, of having been one of the most intrepid pioneers of the West; of having been one of the first to brave the dangers presented by its fierce natives, in laying, in the midst of the wilderness, the humble foundations of institutions now prosperous and full of promise. It is of this that the American people have already shown a recognition in bestowing upon him the glorious title—*the Founder and Father of Wisconsin!*

Langlade was mild and patient, but he could not brook an insult. He knew how to inspire at once the affection and the respect of his acquaintances. His integrity was proverbial, and though it would often have been easy for him to defraud the Government, his accounts were always remarkable for the strictest exactitude. The name given him by the Indians well expresses their idea of the principal trait of his character: A-ke-wau-ge-ke-tau-so—A

Military Conqueror. Like his father, he showed himself always a submissive child of the Catholic Church, always giving every possible assistance to the intrepid missionaries who, from time to time, went to proclaim the gospel to the Canadians, half-breeds and Indians, in this far-distant region.

Langlade was of medium height, but square built, and broad shouldered. His head was somewhat bald, and in his old age his locks were silvered; while, under his thick eyebrows, shone two piercing eyes as black as jet. His face was round, and full of expression. When he wore his British scarlet uniform, his military hat, sword and red morocco belt,* his appearance was as becoming as it was warlike.

Such was the physique of the noble Charles de Langlade. We know that he cultivated all those moral virtues which characterize the true hero.

APPENDIX No. 1.

List of persons at whose marriages Augustin Langlade was present as witness, at Mackinaw, with the date of the ceremonies, and the names of the Priests who performed them.

Bridegrooms and Brides.	Date.	Priests.
1. Andre Skanisse, alias Landroche, and Anne Parent.....	1744	Du Jaunay.
2. J. B. Jutras and Marie Catherino l'Archeveque.....	July 7, 1748	Du Jaunay.
3. Jacques Barito, alias la Marche, and Marie Joseph Ester l'Archeveque.....	Aug. 2, 1748	Du Jaunay.
4. Joseph Relle and Charlotte Parent.....	July 25,1751	Du Jaunay.
5. Etienne Chenier and Therese Esther Chevalier.....	June 4, 1752	La Marinie.
6. Joseph d'Ailleboust de Coulouse and Marianne Parent.....	Jan. 29, 1753	Le Franc.
7. Antoine Le Tellier, alias La Fortune, and Charlotte Ou, alias Oukist.....	July 6, 1753	Du Jaunay.
8. Charles de Langlade and Charlotte Ambroisine Bourassa.....	Aug. 12,1754	Le Franc.
9. Charles, slave of Sieur Bourassa, and Marie, slave of M. Langlade, Jr.	Nov. 31,1754	Le Franc.
10. Francois Brisbe, alias La Grandeur, and Marianne Parent....	May 25,1755	Le Franc,
11. Nicolas Amiot and Suzanne.....	Aug. 18,1755	Du Jaunay.
12. Charles Santeur and Francoise Amiot.....	Apr. 27,1756	Le Franc.
13. Claude Pelle, alias La Haye, and Marie, an Ottawa woman...	May 10,1756	Du Jaunay.
14. Jean Baptiste Cadot and Anastasie.....	Oct. 28, 1756	Le Franc.
15. Pierre Le Duc and Agathe Villeneuve.....	May 21,1758	Le Franc.
16. J. B. Maillot and Marie Neskech.....	July 24,1758	Le Franc.
17. Michel Boier and Josette Marguerite du Lignon.....	Jan. 7, 1760	Le Franc.

* The Wisconsin State Historical Society preserves the silver buckle of this belt in its museum.
† The figure 8 which occurs in the French copy of the word, is supposed to stand for the diphthong "ou," and has been here so translated, as also in number 10 of Appendix No. 2.

APPENDIX No. 2.

List of children for whom Augustin de Langlade stood god-father, at Mackinaw, with the name of each father and god-mother, the date of baptism, and the name of the missionary who performed the rite.

Children.	Fathers.	God-mothers.	Date.	Priests.
1. Pierre Augustin	Slave of M. Man-gras.	Belle Marie, Catharine Lerige.	Jaly 27, 1743	God.Coquar
2. Francoise Ang- gelie (natural daughter.)	Claude Caron.....	Madame Lecuyer.....	July 12, 1744	Du Jaunay
3. Thomas.....	Thomas Blondeau	Agathe Villeneuve....	April 30, 1745	Du Jaunay
4. Joseph Augus- tin.	Claude Germain Gautier.	Agatha Villeneuve....	Oct. 3, 1745	Du Jaunay
5. Pierre Charles..	Charles Hamelin..	Anne Villeneuve.....	Dec. 6, 1747	Du Jaunay
6. Augustin.....	Augustin Larchev- equo .	Miss Bourassa, the aged	July 7, 1748	Du Jaunay
7. Augustin.....	J. B. Laffetier.....	Francoise Cardinal....	Feb. 27, 1752	Lamannie.
8. Catharine.....	Slave of M. Bou- rassa	Miss Bourassa (Mater- nine Laplante.)	April 21, 1753	Du Jaunay
9. Charles Augus- tin.	Charles, Charlee, alias Chauteloup	Miss Charlotte Bou- rassa.	Jan. 9, 1754	Le Franc.
10. Marie.....	Pierre Migouan Ounjan.....	Marie Joseph La For- tune .	Aug. 18, 1754	Le Franc.
11. Joseph Augus- tin.	Joseph Couvret....	Miss Charlotte Bou- rassa.	Sept. 27, 1754	Le Franc.
12. Marie Anne.....	Francois Brisbe....	Marie Ann Parent.....	July 11, 1755	Le Franc.
13. Charles.....	.....	Madam Bourassa, the younger.	Jan. 6, 1756	Du Jaunay
14. Marie.....	M. Cardin, Notary in this post.	Madam Blondeau, alias Nanette.	Feb. 4, 1756	Du Jaunay
15. Charlotte.....	Slave of Sieur Far- ly.	Miss Farly	April 19, 1756	Du Jaunay
16. Charlotte Cath- arine.	Charles de Lang- lade.	Belle Bourassa.....	April 28, 1756	Le Franc.
17. Marie.....	Neskes, an Ottawa	Charlotte Bourassa Langlade..	May 9, 1756	Du Jaunay
18. Anne Agnes.....	Rene Bourassa.....	Madam Blondeau.....	March 2, 1757	Le Franc.
19. Augustin.....	Pierre Kitchinafie.	Madam Sans Chagrin..	May 16, 1757	Le Franc.
20. Charlotte (nat- ural daughter.)	Pierre Souigny, Jr	Madam Souigny	Oct. 1, 1758	Le Franc.
21. Louise	Slave of Beaujeu...	Madam Langlade, the younger.	April 14, 1759	Du Jaunay
22. Augustin.....	Hypolite Kinou- chameck.	Madam Souigny.....	May 30, 1759	Le Franc.
23. Marie.....	M. J. B. Marcot...	Madam Souigny	Sept. 30, 1759	Le Franc.

APPENDIX No. 3.

List of children for whom Madam Langlade stood as god-mother during her residence in Mackinaw, with the name of each father and god-father, the date of the baptisms, and the names of the missionaries who officiated at the ceremonies.

Children.	Fathers.	God-fathers.	Date.	Priests.
1. Louis Herbert ..	Slave of Chevalier de Repentigny.	Jacques Hamelin.....	Sept. 14, 1753	Le Franc.
2. Charles Augustin.	Charles Charlu, alias Chanteloup	Augustin de Langlade	Jan. 9, 1754	Le Franc.
3. Marie Charlotte	Jacques Farly.....	Charles de Langlade...	May 5, 1754	Le Franc.
4. Marie Rene.....	Charles Chabollier	Rene Bourassa, Jr.....	Aug. 14, 1754	Le Franc.
5. Joseph Augustin.	Joseph Couvret	Augustin de Langlade	Sept. 27, 1754	Le Franc.
6. Jean Baptiste...	Slave of M. de Langlade, Jr.	Charles de Langlade...	June 9, 1754	Du Jaunay
7. Louis	Rene Bourassa.....	Chevalier de Repentigny, (Post Captain)	Jan. 18, 1755	Le Franc.
8. Joseph.....	Pierre Ketchinaouo.	Joseph Amable Hubert	May 17, 1755	Le Franc.
9. Catharine.	Slave of M. La Fortune.	M. Giasson	July 13, 1755	Le Franc.
10. Charlotte, illegitimate.	Deshom, alias Villebon	Chevalier de Repentigny.	Aug. 24, 1755	Du Jaunay
11. Marie.....	Neskes, an Ottawa.	M. de Langlade, Sr	May, 9, 1756	Du Jaunay
12. Hubert	Charles Personne..	M. Couterot, Lieut. of Infantry.	July 19, 1756	Le Franc.
13. Marie Francoise.	Francois Brisbe ...	Pierre Parent	June 1, 1757	Le Franc.
14. Pierre, an Ottawa.	Kiniouichatoun ...	M. de Beaujeu, (Post Commandant.)	June 29, 1758	Du Jaunay
15. Charles	Antoine Le Tellier	M. de Langlade	July 2, 1758	Le Franc.
16. Marie	Tieunotte, a Chipewew.	M. de Beaujeu.....	July 16, 1758	Le Franc.
17. Marianne	Slave of Langlade.	Chevalier de Repentigny.	July 13, 1758	Le Franc.
18. Louise	Slave of Beaujeu...	M. Langlade, Sr.....	Apr. 14, 1759	Du Jaunay
19. Charlotte	J. B. Cadot.....	M. Janisse.....	May 22, 1760	Le Franc.
20. Marie Auplise ..	J. B. Jourdain	M. de Souigny	July 16, 1760	Le Franc.
21. Louis	Laurent D n charme.	M. de Beaujeu.....	Sept. 6, 1760	Le Franc.

Notice of Match-e-ke-wis.

THE CAPTOR OF MACKINAW, 1763.

BY LYMAN C. DRAPER.

The Ojibwa or Chippewa leader who successfully surprised Mackinaw in 1763, exhibited tact and prowess in that affair worthy of more emphatic recognition than history has hitherto accorded him.

The traveler, Alexander Henry, an eye-witness of that tragic event, has failed to inform us of the name of the Indian chieftain who led his warriors in that attack. He may have been ignorant in the matter, but, more likely, did not regard it as of any importance. Henry's prior description of the old chief Minavavana, called by the French *La Grand Sauter*—the great Chippewa—has tended to lead historians to suppose that he was the leader on this occasion. Then about fifty years of age, as he appeared to Mr. Henry, he was probably too old to take the lead in an active ball-play, and the vigorous strategy consequent on it; and hence, doubtless, the execution of this important artifice was assigned to Match-e-ke-wis, a bold young hereditary chief of some twenty-eight years of age. Or, if Minavavana shared in the enterprise, the evidences about to be adduced all go to prove, that Match-e-ke-wis was the active leader in the affair.

Colonel Arent Schuyler De Peyster, of the Eighth or Kings Regiment, commanded at Mackinaw from 1774 till September, 1779, managing the Indian tribes of that quarter; and had every opportunity of learning the facts in the case from Match-e-ke-wis, whom he knew well, and from the Chippewas generally. In his rare work, "Miscellanies by an officer," privately published at Dumfries, Scotland, in 1813, he twice refers to this chief as the real hero of the surprise of Mackinaw. This work is a medley of poor versi-

fication, with some Indian speeches and military correspondence. On page eighteen occurs this couplet:

“ Like Matchi-quis, at foot-ball sport,
With arms concealed, surprised the fort.”

To this the following foot-note explanation occurs: “ Under pretense of playing, he kicked the ball over the piquets, rushed in with his band, and accomplished his purpose.” On page thirty-two, De Peyster refers to “ bold Match-i-quis,” who “ surprised the fort in 1763.” Here, then, we have De Peyster’s positive assertion, that it was Match-e-ke-wis who kicked the ball over the pickets, and rushed into the fort with his band.

In Grignon’s Recollections,* derived from his grandfather Charles de Langlade, who was present, and Grignon himself knew the chief, it is stated that it was Match-e-ke-wis, who with other leading chiefs implicated in the plot, stoutly denied to Captain Etherington, the commandant that the Indians had any desire against the fort, of which Langlade had faithfully warned him.

In 1866, I visited the venerable Alexander Robinson, generally called “ The Chief Robinson,” who resided on the Des Plaines River, a few miles Northwest of Chicago. His father was a Scotch trader, and his mother an Ottawa woman; and Robinson, the son of this union, was born at Mackinaw in 1789. From notes I took at the time, I cite in full all he related of “ Match-i-quis,” so he pronounced the name: He was a Chippewa, and lived at a place near Mackinaw, called Cheboygan. *He took Mackinaw Fort in Pontiac’s war;* and when the British re-occupied that post, Match-e-ke-wis and two or three other ring-leaders in that attack, were taken, sent to Quebec, and imprisoned awhile. But the British authorities at length released Match-e-ke-wis, as well as the others, gave him a medal, flag, and other presents, and he returned home with increased honors. He was with the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timber in 1794, and signed Wayne’s treaty the following year.† He was a large, tall chief, and weighed over two hundred pounds; and was a man of great distinction among his people. Robinson added, that he knew him well, and that he died about 1806, quite aged,

* Wisconsin Historical Collections, III, 224.

† Match-e-ke-wis may have attended this treaty, but his name does not appear among the signers, unless, indeed, Mash-i-pin-ash-i-wish, or Bad Bird, whose name heads the delegation, may refer to him, the first and last syllables of the name look very much like it.

perhaps about seventy. This testimony of Robinson will be fully credited by all who knew that worthy and honorable chief, for many years a prominent leader among the Pottawattamies; and whose name appears to be attached to several of their treaties with the United States.

Though Henry, the traveler, does not mention Match-e-ke-wis, in connection with the surprise of Mackinaw, he nevertheless speaks of meeting him the following year at Sault St. Mary. Henry was then stopping at M. Cadotte's, the interpreter, at that place, whose wife was a Chippewa woman. There was then, it will be remembered, quite a disaffection among the Western tribes, and it took all the combined efforts of Sir William Johnson, Colonel Bouquet, and Colonel Bradstreet—the two latter invading the Indian country with strong military forces—to suppress the threatened outbreak. It was under such circumstances, that Match-e-ke-wis—Mat-chi-ki-wish, as Henry writes it—with a canoe full of warriors, landed at the Sault direct from Mackinaw, whose intentions were apparently of an evil nature. The chief soon approached Cadotte's, whose wife was his relative; when the interpreter upbraided him with evil designs against the white trader. Match-e-ke-wis finally acknowledged, that he purposed to raise a party of warriors, to go to Detroit, and take Henry with him; but if this should be disagreeable to M. Cadotte, it should be abandoned. After some further conferences, and the opportune arrival of intelligence from Sir William Johnson, inviting the Chippewas to repair to Fort Niagara, and make peace with the English, or an English army would soon appear in the country, accompanied by the Sioux Nations. So instead of going to war, Match-e-ke-wis, it is inferred, united in agreeing upon a peaceful embassy to Sir William at Niagara.*

Schoolcraft, in his elaborate work on the History and Condition of the Indian tribes, states the Chippewa name of Mud-je-ke-wis means "a magistrate ruling by descent of blood"—hence, an hereditary chief.† Appended to Colonel Henry Whitings' Aboriginal poem of Sannillac, is a note furnished by General Lewis Cass, relative to the "sacred fire" of the Indians, in which this passage occurs: "The Chippewa tribe formerly inhabited the regions around Lake Superior; and its council-house, and the seat of the eternal fire, were west of Keeweenau Point. Here lived the principal chief,

* Henry's Travels, New York, 1809, pp. 164-166.

† Vol. V, p. 147.

called the Mutch-e-ke-wis, who exercised more authority, and assumed more state, than would be compatible with the present feelings of the Indians. The designation was official, and not personal; and the office was hereditary in the direct male line. * * * He appears to have been the chief priest, and could neither engage in war nor hunting."

Be this as it may, the subject of this sketch, who was honored with this title of Match-e-ke-wis, took a leading part in war; but he may, for aught we know, have resorted to the ancient sacerdotal character of his office, to excite his followers to the desperate stratagem in which he and they engaged to effect the capture and destruction of Mackinaw.

While serving as Indian Agent at Mackinaw, Mr. Schoolcraft made this entry in his diary, August twenty-fourth, 1833, which serves to corroborate De Peyster, Grignon and Robinson, that Match-e-ke-wis was the leader of the Chippewas in the surprise and massacre at Mackinaw.

"Mad-je-ke-wis, chief of Thunder Bay, a descendant of the captor of old Mackinack, being questioned of his family, their former residence, his knowledge and remembrance of affairs at old Mackinack, replied that his father's name was Mud-je-ke-wis; it had been Kaigwaidosa when he had been a young man. He had lived at Mackinack, going to Thunder Bay to hunt. He died, not very old, at a treaty held on the Maumee. He (himself) had heard of the taking of old Mackinack, but was born after the removal of the post to the Island, and his father died before he had instructed him. He had not heard of Wawetum, or Menehwehwa, of whom I questioned him.

"This answer is a specimen of Indian caution and suspicion of white men. I knew but little of the man then, and had seen him but once or twice. He evidently 'played shy,' and was determined the Anglo-Saxon race should get no facts from him that might ever be told to the disadvantage of the Indians, who had once, under the lead of a noted chief,* been led, under the deception of a ball-play, to fall on the unprepared ranks of a British garrison, and stain their history with a horrible tale of blood. Henry's Travels preserve the most vivid account of this massacre, for he was him-

* Schoolcraft adds, in parenthesis, Pontiac; but plainly enough this was a careless slip of the pen, intended for Mad-je-ke-wis, as he had started out by declaring that he was "the captor."

self an eye-witness of some of its atrocities, and was spared, by a remarkable providence, from being one of its victims. It was not credible that seventy years should have left so little of Indian tradition of that sanguinary event."*

These corroborative testimonies of De Peyster, Grignon, Robinson and Schoolcraft, determine beyond a reasonable doubt, that Match-e-ke-wis was the Chippewa leader who captured old Fort Mackinac in 1763.

A too common error may very properly be noted in this connection. The present town of Mackinaw, on the beautiful island of that name, is not the locality, as many erroneously suppose, of the sanguinary event of 1763. The old Fort Michillimakinac was located on the main land, at or near where Mackinaw City is now situated, and about six or seven miles to the southwest of Mackinaw Island, which was in sight, and from which the fort derived its name. Henry, the traveler, who knew the place in 1761-1763, states, after having landed on the Island: "I crossed the strait, and landed at the fort, of the same name; the distance from the Island is about two leagues."† Carver, who was there in 1766, says: "Michillimackinac, in the language of the Chippewa Indians, signifies a tortoise; and the place is supposed to receive its name from an island, lying about six or seven miles to the northeast, within sight of the fort, which has the appearance of that animal;" and the map, accompanying his work, locates the fort in accordance with this description;‡ and Bancroft follows these authorities.§ It was several years after the capture of 1763, that the fort and garrison were removed to the Island.||

On the northeast side of Lake Superior, Long, the Indian trader, relates his meeting, early in July, 1777, a party of about one hundred and fifty Indians, mostly Chippewas, of whom "Match-ee-que-wish" was the chief, who called a council of his people, and finding that the trader understood their language, proposed to adopt him as a brother warrior. Then followed the feast, prepared of dog's flesh, boiled in bear's grease, with huckle-berries, of which all were

* Schoolcrafts' *Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes*, p. 447.

† Henry's *Travels*, edition 1809, p. 38.

‡ Carver's *Travels*, London Edition, 1778, pp. 18-19.

§ Bancroft's *Hist. of the United States*, original edition, V. 121; revised edition 111, p. 380.

|| Schoolcrafts' *Thirty Years with the Indians Tribes*, pp. 443, 445, 446, 451, 452, 456, 479, 492, 493.

to partake; after which a war song was chanted, recounting the merits and fitness of the brother for the honor of warriorship conferred. The candidate was then seated on a beaver robe, and presented with a pipe to smoke, which was passed around to every warrior, when a wampun belt was thrown over his neck. Then he was placed in a sweating house, where, by sprinkling water on hot stones, a profuse perspiration was produced; when he was directed to jump into water at hand. Coming out of which, a blanket was thrown over him, when he was led to the chief's hut, where he was laid on his back, and the chief drew with a pointed stick, dipped in gun powder dissolved in water, on the candidate's body, the figure intended to be indelibly made there—a sort of passport among the Indians of genuine adoption. Ten needles fixed in a small wooden frame were then dipped in vermillion, the figure drawn was then punctured with these needle points, and the coloring matter inserted; and where bolder outlines were required, larger incisions were made with a gun-flint, and that portion of the pricked spots not impregnated with vermillion, were rubbed over with gun powder, so that between the two a variety of red and blue was produced. These wounds were washed for a few days to prevent festering. During the process, war-songs were sung, accompanied with the shaking of rattles; after which a new name was conferred. Match-e-ke-wis made his new Indian brother a few presents, which were acknowledged by a liberal gift to the chief and party in return.*

Of the subsequent career of Match-e-ke-wis, we have but little knowledge. He probably joined Langlade and his Indian forec on the expedition in 1779, to St Joseph, with a view of aiding in the re-conquest of the Illinois country. But the mishap of the British Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, and his troops falling into the hands of Colonel Clark at Vincennes, frustrated this design; and hearing of this disaster on their arrival at St. Joseph, Langlade and his dusky warriors retraced their steps to their homes in the wilderness.

Grignon relates that Match-e-ke-wis was a prominent Indian leader under Ducharme, in the expedition against the Spanish settlers of the St. Louis region, in the spring of 1780; and which also encountered the American forces, under Colonel Clark, at Cahokia,

*Long's Travels, pp. 45-49.

- Illinois, in the neighborhood of St. Louis—an expedition which met with little success, the Indians returning greatly dissatisfied.

About the year 1788, Grignon relates having seen Match-e-ke-wis at Green Bay. He was then dignified with the title of General prefixed to his Indian name, which he seemed to appreciate, for he wore a bright scarlet British dress coat, with epaulettes, and cut quite a figure. He was then getting old, and was a tall, and large sized Indian. Young as Grignon then was, about eight years of age, he attracted his attention; and his grandfather, Charles de Langlade, told him of the St. Louis expedition, and Match-e-ke-wis having the chief command of the Indians engaged in it. Grignon adds, that his grandfather had a dislike towards General Match-e-ke-wis, remarking that he was unreliable and treacherous, brave and sanguinary—probably referring more especially to his treacherous conduct at the surprise of Mackinaw in 1763.*

That Match-e-ke-wis may have died, as his son relates, while attending a treaty on the Maumee, is very probable. Such a treaty was held at Fort Industry, on that river, in the summer of 1805; and that date accords with the time the chief Robinson fixes as the period of his death.

* Grignon's Recollections, Vol. III, Wisconsin Historical Collections, p. 232.

Northern Wisconsin in 1820.

BY HON. JAMES DUANE DOTY.

DETROIT, September 27, 1820.

To His Excellency, LEWIS CASS:

SIR:—The following information received at Sandy Lake, during your absence to Red Cedar Lake, in answer to your interrogatories, I have the honor of communicating to your excellency. It was obtained from persons who have traveled over and resided in the country, almost from their infancy. No opportunity was afforded of obtaining it from better or more enlightened sources than those improved, and I think in general it may be relied upon as correct.

There are three chief places of residence of the Indians in this country. The first, and principal, is Leech Lake; the next Sandy Lake; and the third, Fond du Lac, of Lake Superior.

At Leech Lake there are more than two hundred men, at least three hundred and fifty women married to them, and about eleven hundred boys and girls. Their hunting ground is around the Lake, and extends north to Round Lake, west to the Red River, south to the Sioux, and east until they meet the Indians of Sandy Lake. Their game is deer, bear, beaver, otter, muskrats, marten, fisher, rackoon, and a few red and gray foxes. The only buffalo they kill is on the border of the Sioux country. The beaver is hunted particularly on the river St. Peters and its tributaries. A few are found in other parts. Most of the small rivers abound in otter. The other game is found throughout their country.

None of the Western waters are as abundant in white fish as Leech Lake. There are great numbers also in Lake Winnepec, Red Cedar, and Cross Lakes, but the rivers are destitute of them.

They are fine flavored and more delicious than those of the Sault of St. Mary.*

There are various other fish in these and other lakes, and rivers, as pike, carp, black bass, cat-fish, etc. A fish called by the savages too-nee-bee, and by the French, "telibeas" not equal to, but greatly resembling the white fish, is found in the large lakes above mentioned, and particularly in abundance in Leech Lake. The fish and the wild rice are the chief sustenance of the traders, and without them the trade could scarcely be carried on. The telibeas are taken in nets of from 60 to 100 fathoms long, late in autumn, and to preserve them, are hung up by the tail in the air until frozen. From July until November the white fish are taken, and the telibeas from the 1st of September to the latter part of November, at the setting in of the ice, and both on the same ground. Neither are taken in the winter; but from the 20th of May to the 20th of June, immense numbers of telibeas are caught. During the winter, pike and pickerel may be obtained.

The water fowls throughout this Northwestern country are nearly all the same. They are the bustard, wild goose, several kinds of ducks, as the black, French (nearly resembling the tame) wood duck, etc., swan, pelican, loon, and the gull. A fowl called the cormorant is found here. It lives on fish, is nearly the size of the raven, and of the same color; has a leg like a loon, a bill about four inches long shaped like a snipe's, except at the peak, which is rather crooked and sharp like an eagle's; it alights in the water and on trees, and, it is said, *roosts* by suspending itself by the bill from a limb of a tree. The birds are nearly the same as those commonly found in the Eastern States.

The moose, elk, rein and common deer, wolf (not north of Sandy Lake,) red and white ermine, wolverine, lynx, skunk, porcupine, wood-chuck, and red striped squirrels are found in different parts of the country.

There are many turtles of various sizes; some very large and delicious are found in the Lakes.

No rattle, or other snakes, except the small striped or garter snake.

The Indians of Leech Lake are in bands; and each band has its own chief. No general leader of the whole is acknowledged; but

* Our Wisconsin Fish Commissions should test this statement, and, if correct, profit by it.
L. C. D.

the Brachu who resides at Sandy Lake has, when he is present, some considerable influence over them. The chieftainship descends from father to son, and the line becomes extinct by the death of the last male, the females being entirely excluded. In filling vacancies they generally elect from the tribe the most valiant, brave and powerful, or the man they deem the wisest, or the most eloquent speaker; and this last qualification is considered highly essential and is generally preferred; and the person elected becomes the heir to all the honors of the old line. In fact, they always claim this right of election, but it is occasionally dispensed with when some daring, bloody fellow, usurping the throne, holds, either by his ferocity, or his many and influential relations, his tribe in awe. Such an one, however, is soon—*casually*—disposed of, if he does not in a short time ingratiate himself by some extraordinary act with the band. Even then he can scarcely be considered secure, for he is only respected, not loved; and is liable to be deposed at any time. Aware of this, he generally moves cautiously, and deals severely.

The chief of the Leech Lake Indians is Es-kee-buc-ec-ose, or Flat Mouth; the regular chief of those at Sandy Lake, the Bras Casse, or Broken Arm—in Indian, Book-oo-sain-ge-gun; and the chief of Fond du Lac, Ghin-gwau-by, or as called by the French, "the Deaf Man." These are severally influenced by the Brachu, who, it seems, raised himself to this superior station merely by his eloquence. His ancestors have always been of good standing, and for a time furnished chiefs for the tribe at Sandy Lake. It appears he is the first Emperor of these tribes, they having been entirely distinct and independent previous to his time.

The Sandy Lake tribe of Indians is the second in size. It has eighty-five men, two hundred and forty-three women and children, besides thirty-five half breeds. They are divided into three parties, one resides about half way from Sandy Lake to Leech Lake, at a place called Pac-au-gum-aw, on a small lake through which the Mississippi runs, and near the boundary between these and the Leech Lake Indians. These Indians hunt north to Vermillion Lake, the head waters of the Fond du Lac River, and on which the Northwest Company has an establishment; west to Pauc-qua-gun-aw, above mentioned; east to the Fond du Lac River and down it to the Portage de la Prairie; and south to the borders of the Sioux country, or near Elk River which falls into the Mississippi. It is

about one hundred miles to Pac-au-gum-aw, ~~the same~~ as Vermillion Lake, fifty miles to Portage de la Prairie, and one ~~hundred~~ and twenty miles to Elk River. These are considered direct courses.

Their furs and game are the same as those of the Leech Lake Indians. The birds do not vary from those in the country around Leech Lake. White-fish and telibeas are found in Sandy Lake, but inferior in quality to those of Leech Lake. The latter part of September the white-fish begin to run, and continue until winter sets in. The telibeas are taken at the same time as those in Leech Lake.

Winter commences about the first of December, and breaks up by the first of April. It is nearly the same as at Montreal. This applies also to Leech Lake, but it is much colder at Fond du Lac, where the season is generally fifteen days later. The depth of snow is not as great at Leech Lake as at Sandy Lake. Around Lake Superior it falls two and a half or three feet deep, but decreases to the west, so that when the snow is three feet in depth at Fond du Lac, the ground is scarcely covered at Sandy Lake. A south wind may prevail at Fond du Lac three days without decreasing the snow; while at Sandy Lake, one of twelve hours invariably produces a thaw.

The summer is generally warm and pleasant. Vegetation springs up and advances rapidly as soon as the snow has disappeared. Potatoes grow finely at Sandy Lake, and most of the garden vegetables may be raised.

The food of the Indians in this country varies according to the different seasons. They occasionally subsist on the waub-es-see-pin. It resembles a potatoe, is mealy when boiled, and grows only in wet, clay ground, and about one and a half feet deep. The crane potatoe is another article of food, called by them the sitch-auc-waub-es-see-pin. It is of the same kind, but inferior in quality to the waub-es-see-pin, and is found throughout this country. The wau-tap-pin-ee is a small root frequently pulled three feet long, which is dried in order to preserve it. This root is found on the southern shore of Lake Superior, but is seldom brought as far as Sandy Lake. These three are boiled when prepared for food. They also use the *bois retors*, or twisted wood, in cases of extreme necessity. It resembles the bitter-sweet, runs into the tops of the highest trees, and from one tree to another, has thick bark, and is sweet

and palatable when boiled. To these may be added the wild rice—*fols aroine*—and such game as they occasionally kill, eating every kind and every part. I saw them yesterday cooking a skunk, but when it was prepared for the table, it was impossible to approach the lodge except to the windward. They boil the excrements of the rabbit with their rice “to season it,” and esteem it a luxury. To make that dish still more palatable, and one of their highest epicurean dishes, they occasionally take a partridge, pick off the feathers, and without any farther dressing except pounding it to the consistency of jelly, throw it into the rice, and boil it in that condition. In this they seem not far above the brute creation. It is scarcely possible to account for such an appetite or relish, except it be that necessity having compelled them frequently to resort to this loathsome food for sustenance, they have at length acquired a preference for it.

A band of the Sandy Lake tribe of Indians resides at Pauc-quau-me-no-min-ic-con, or Rice Lake, between twenty and twenty-five miles south of Sandy Lake. There are only thirteen grown men in the village; their number of young men, squaws and children is forty-seven. They hunt in the woods adjoining the Lake. To the east of their village and near Fond du Lac they occasionally kill a few moose. This band has never been much noticed by the English Government, and has been generally well disposed towards ours.

All of the men at Sandy Lake and south of it, annually, in the month of March, go to the borders of the Sioux country, and as far beyond as their fears will permit them, to hunt the beaver, which hunt is called by them no-tah-mic-qua, and signifies “searching for beaver”—“mic” meaning beaver. Their families being left at home in this hunt, repair to the sugar camps, and are engaged in manufacturing sugar during the absence of the men, of which they make very large quantities.

The Indians around Sandy Lake, in the month of September, repair to Rice Lake to gather their rice. In no other place does it grow in as large quantities as there. This Lake is about five miles long and three broad. It might perhaps be called a *marais*, for the water is not over five feet deep, and its surface is almost entirely covered with rice. It is only in morasses or muddy bottoms that this grain is found.

It was formely the practice of the Indians, when the grain was in the milk, to pass around in canoes and gather up the tops in large shocks or branches and fasten them, to render the collecting of the grain much easier after it had ripened. By this means they obtained it also in much large quantities than at present. This work of harvesting is preformed by the females. It is now gathered by two of them passing around in a canoe, one sitting in the stern and pushing it along, while the other with her back to the bow and with two small pointed sticks about three feet long, one in each hand, collects it in by running one of the sticks into the rice and bending it over on to the edge of the canoe, while with the other she strikes the heads suddenly and rattles the grain into it. This she does on both sides of the canoe alternately, and while the canoe is moving. About a gill is generally struck off at blow. It is not ripe when harvested. It falls covered with a husk, and has a beard about two inches long. One method of curing the rice, and that which makes it the most palatable, is by putting it in a kettle in small quantities, and hanging it over the fire until it becomes parched. A round hole is dug in the ground about one and an half feet deep, and three in circumference, into which a moose skin is usually put. Into this hole the grain is then poured, where it is trod by an Indian until completely hulled. This is a very laborious work, and always devolves upon the men. After being sufficiently trod, it is taken out and cleaned, in a fan made of birch bark, shaped something like those used by farmers. This is the most expeditious method of curing it.

The other method differs from this only in drying. It is as follows: a scaffold is made of small poles about three feet from the ground, and covered with cedar slabs. On this the rice is spread, and under the scaffold a small slow fire kindled, which is kept up until the grain becomes entirely dry. It takes nearly a day to dry one of the scaffolds full. The grain cured in this way is more nutritious, and keeps much longer than the other. By that parched in a kettle, the substance appears to be destroyed. The rice, when cured, is put into sacks of about a bushel. A sack is valued at two skins. A fathom of stroud or a blanket will buy two sacks. A skin is valued at two dollars.

One family ordinarily makes about five sacks; though those who are industrious sometimes make twenty-five. The last, however,

is very rare. A few provident Indians save a little for the spring of the year to eat with their sugar, though generally by that time they have done curing it, the whole is disposed of for trinkets and ornaments. Thus by gratifying their vanity, they are left nearly destitute of provisions for the winter—choosing to endure hunger and the greatest misery than mortify their pride!

The Fond du Lac Indians are divided into bands, and have no fixed places of residence, wandering around on the rivers and lakes: their time is occupied alternately in hunting and fishing; their country being poorer than that of either of the before mentioned tribes. They hunt west to the Sandy Lake Indians, north to the sources of Snake River, which empties into the Fond du Lac River, eighteen miles above the mouth of the Savannah, northwest to Encampment Island in Lake Superior; thirty-six miles above Fond du Lac, and on the southern shore of the Lake to the River Brule, and south to Pine Lake, the northern boundary of the Fols Avoine Indians, and about one hundred miles from the establishment on Fond du Lac.

Their principal game is moose, bear, marten, mink, muskrat, case cat (lynx,) hedgehog, of which they have great numbers, otter, and a few beaver. They have neither the buffalo, deer, wolf, racoon, fox, or wolverine.

The tribe consists of forty-five men, sixty women, and two hundred and forty children. There are about thirty half-breeds, and three freemen, who have families. The freemen are Canadians married to squaws, living entirely with the Indians, and are not engaged to the Southwestern Company, by whom, as well as the Indians, they are considered a great nuisance, being forever exciting broils and disturbances. There is an old negro in the employ of the Company who has a squaw for a wife, and a family of four children residing in Fond du Lac.

These Indians have in no degree the spirit and genius of those in the Upper Country, by whom they are considered very stupid and dull, being but little given to war. They consider the Sioux their enemies, but make few war excursions. They sometimes join those of the other tribes, but have never taken that deep interest in the struggle that the others have. In their manner and customs they resemble the Indians of Sandy Lake, but are in no respect their

equal, particularly in those things which may be supposed to ameliorate their condition in life.

There are two grand water communications with this country; one by Lake Superior and the Fond du Lac River, and the other by the Mississippi. The first is considered the most eligible route. It is about thirteen hundred miles from St. Louis to Sandy Lake, and ten hundred and fifty from Detroit, by water, to the same place. There are many rapids in the Mississippi, particularly above the Falls of St. Anthony, which it is almost impossible to ascend with boats or canoes. The waters of this River are also considered unhealthy. On the other course, the greatest difficulties are found in the rapids of the Fond du Lac River; but as this River is ascended only one hundred and fifty miles, and the rapidity of the Mississippi continues for six hundred, and a strong current the residue, the difference in the exertion and fatigue between the two routes is very great. Lake Superior is computed by the voyagers to be four hundred and eighty-four miles long. It is three hundred miles from Detroit to Mackinac, and forty from there to mouth of the River St. Marys. That river is forty miles long.

Communication may be had with the Mississippi from Lake Superior by the Tenaugon, Iron, Carp, Presque Isle, Black, Montreal, Mauvais, Brule and Fond du Lac Rivers.

The Tenaugon is ascended thirty six miles, where a portage commences of two hundred *pauses*, to the "old plantation" as commonly called, but by the French "vieux desert," "old deserted place," which is on a small lake of the same name about four miles long, and three broad. Two Rivers rise in this Lake, one the Abenomins, which empties into Green Bay; the other discharges into the Sauter River. They are both navigable for canoes.

Iron River is so rapid that a portage is commenced at its mouth. The canoe is scarcely put into its water in the whole length of the River. It leads near some navigable waters of the Ouisconsin.

Three miles above the mouth of Carp River is a perpendicular fall of about forty-five feet, when it passes Porcupine Mountain; above, the stream is small, and with difficulty ascended.

Presque Isle River has many rapids, and is seldom used. Black River is the same.

The Montreal River is not navigable; but at its mouth, on the East side, a portage is made of one hundred and twenty *pauses* to a

small lake; in which distance the Montreal River is crossed twice, the first time at eleven *pauses*, and the second at eighty. The lake is three miles long, and is the head of another branch of the Sauter. This fork runs fifteen miles into Turtle Lake, which is about two miles over, thence it runs a few leagues into a small lake, passing through which it continues on until it joins the fork from Old Plantation Lake, thirty-three miles from Turtle Lake. A lake of considerable size is connected with Turtle Lake on the northeast by a river. In Lake Du Flambeau the Southwest Company have an establishment of five traders and twenty hands, the return from which last season was about fifty packs. It lies from Turtle Lake near southeast. The route is from the mouth of the Montreal to Turtle Lake, from which there is a portage one-fourth of a mile to a small pond, thence up the outlet of a small lake one-fourth of a mile, from which a portage of three miles is made to the Old Plantation River. This is descended eighteen miles to the entrance of the Riviere du Flambeau, which rises in the lake of the same name, and is twenty-four miles long. The Company's fort stands on the north side of the lake. The lake is crooked, is four miles long and one broad. From this there is a chain of lakes which extend down to the head waters of the Ouisconsin. Portages are made from one to another so as to connect the communication in that direction. The small river formed by the junction of the Turtle and old Plantation Rivers, is almost entirely a rapid; and, running over a bed of rocks, is very dangerous. It takes seven days to descend it, and is one hundred and seventy-five miles long. The River Sauter (Chippewa) which is also rapid, is very wide, and about one hundred and eighty miles long, emptying into Lake Pepin. It is sixty-three miles from the Tenaugon to the Montreal River.

Mauvais River is ascended about one hundred miles. A portage is then made of twenty-two *pauses* to a small lake which is connected with another by a stream one-quarter of a mile long. From this is a portage of one *pause* to a lake; and another *pause* to another lake, which last is connected to a third by a small strait, perhaps thirty rods long. A portage of one *pause* is made to Clam Lake, in which a branch of the Sauter rises. This Lake is one mile long and three-fourths of a mile broad, which is the general extent of all the lakes on this route. It is from this, six miles to Spear Lake, fifteen miles to Summer Lake, and twelve miles to a lake called by the In-

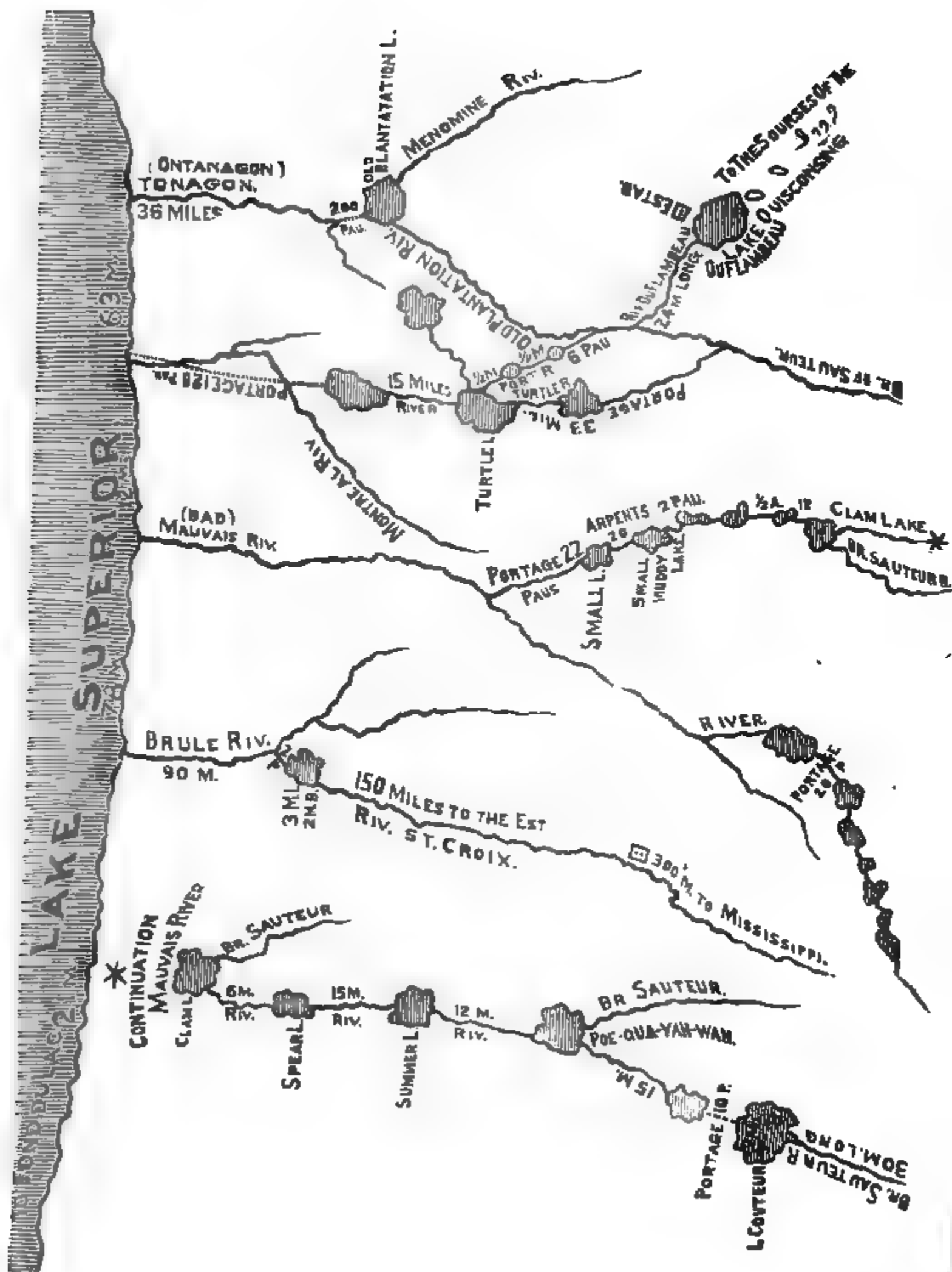
dians, Poc-qua-yah-wan. The branch continues through this Lake, and passes out on the southeast side. On the west a small river enters, which is ascended fifteen miles, whence a portage is made of ten *pauses* into Lake Coutere, on which the Southwest Company have an establishment. It is nine miles long and three broad, and is connected with the Sauter by a stream thirty miles long, which issues from it. The Mauvais is twelve miles from the Montreal River.

The River Brule, seventy-eight miles from the Mauvais, is ascended ninety miles to a bend, from which a portage of two *pauses* is made to Lake St. Croix, the head water of the river of the same name. It is three miles long and two broad. On the River St. Croix, one hundred miles from the lake, the Southwest Company have an establishment. It discharges into the Mississippi three hundred miles from that trading post. Between the Mauvais and Brule Rivers, several small streams empty into Lake Superior; as the Raspberry, Sandy, Ses-caw-naw-be-kaw, Cranberry, Bullrush and the Little Iron Rivers. Goddard's River is between the Brule and Fond du Lac.

As the Fond du Lac River was ascended by you, it will be unnecessary to describe it. I will merely state, that it rises in Vermillion Lake, is near three hundred miles long, and that its general course is east. It may scarcely be called navigable above the Savannah, which enters one hundred and thirty-six miles from its mouth. The Savannah is twenty-four miles long, and is ascended to its source. The portage to the small river, which empties into Sandy Lake, is six miles—the river is descended twelve. Sandy Lake is four miles long and two wide. By the outlet of the Lake to the Mississippi is two miles, but by land it is hardly the half of a mile. It is two hundred and fifty miles from Sandy Lake to Vermillion by way of the Mississippi and Trout Lake.

The accompanying map was drawn by the person who communicated the preceding facts, and may, in some degree, convey an idea of the principal water-courses of the country.

About half way from Sandy Lake to Red Cedar Lake below, a river empties into the Mississippi which rises in Duck Lake. A portage of six miles is made from the Mississippi, opposite Sandy Lake, to this River, which is ascended sixty miles. From Duck Lake the communication with Leech Lake is over a country, one-half of



which is covered with lakes. The land is generally heavily timbered.

TRADE.—A skin is estimated at \$2. A two and a half point blanket is sold for four skins; one fathom of stroud, the same; half a pint of powder, one skin; thirty balls, the same; five branches of wampum, or two hundred and fifty *grans*, one skin; a Northwest cased gun, ten skins; one beaver trap, four skins; a large scalping knife, half a skin; twist tobacco, two skins per fathom, three plugs for a skin, and four skins per carot; a mesh, or forty branches of white beads, one skin; a pair of leggins with ribbons and beads to garnish, two skins; one-half axe, one skin; one hatchet, one skin. These are the principal articles of trade. Divers other things are given as presents. If an Indian obtains a credit for his supplies for the season, he must be furnished with a flint, a needle, an awl, a gun worm, a little vermillion, rings, beads, and three or four inches of tobacco, besides various other articles, for which the trader charges nothing. In a credit of six hundred skins, if the trader gets three hundred in return for his goods, he considers himself recompensed. He frequently does not obtain even this proportion. The articles received from the Indians are sugar, rice, and skins. A mocock of sugar, weighing about forty pounds, is received for four skins; a sack of rice, two skins; a large prime beaver, two skins; a large prime otter, two skins; three martens, one skin; three minks one skin; ten muskrats, one skin; a prime bear, two skins; two prime buck skins, one skin; three racoons, one; two lynx, one; two fishers, one. An axe is so essential an article with an Indian that he is generally punctual in paying for it; and on returning from his hunt, he lays out a certain number of skins in payment for his axe, and calls the trader to notice it.

The Southwest Company have the chief trade of this country, but they sustain a considerable injury from the small traders. They sent from Leech Lake, last year, thirty-eight packs; from Sandy Lake, twenty-five; and Fond du Lac, nine. This year, from the first place, fifty-three; the second, thirty-five; and the third, fifteen. Last year the whole return was not as much as usual, and this year rather more.

The dogs used for drawing in this country are of the middle size, and a mixture of every breed. Their harness is made something like the common dray harness; being composed of collar with tugs,

a belly-band, and two back-bands, one across the shoulders and the other the hips. Three horse bells on the second band, it seems, are indispensable. They have no lines or breeching. Thus harnessed, the dogs are hitched to a train made of a white oak slab, dressed down smooth, about six feet long and fourteen inches wide, and turned up before in the shape of a sleigh runner. On the crust or ice a dog will travel, with two hundred pounds on his train, from morning to night, as fast as a man can walk. They frequently go sixty miles in a day. These dogs are starved in the summer so that they can scarcely stagger around, but by the time the winter sets in, they are put into the finest order. When worked, they are fed only at night—not a morsel is given in the day. Fish is their common food.

Fifty-Four Years' Recollections of Men and Events in Wisconsin.

BY GEN. ALBERT G. ELLIS.

In giving General Ellis' valuable historical paper, it is proper that it should be prefaced with a brief account of a pioneer who has acted a prominent part in the growth and history of Wisconsin.

William H. Ellis at an early period migrated from Scotland to Boston, where he married; his son of the the same name, settled at Dedham, Mass., where his second son, Eleazar, was born April twenty-fifth, 1766, who married, first Sophronia Kellogg, who soon dying, he was then united in marriage with Candace Brainard, at Hartland, Connecticut. Eleazar Ellis and wife first settled at Keene, New Hampshire; and a few years later at Whitestown, and then at Verona, in Oneida County, New York; and he was occupied for several years in teaching. He at length engaged in Verona, in farming, clearing up in part a wild, rough, heavily timbered tract of eighty acres. Here Albert G. Ellis, the subject of this notice, was born, August twenty-fourth, 1800, and was reared on the farm till his fifteenth year, when his father died, leaving the youthful son, mother, and a young daughter, in very slender circumstances. Mrs. Ellis disposed of her little property, and removed to a brothers, in Litchfield, in Herkimer county.

In the Spring of 1816, young Ellis, thrown upon the world with scarcely any education, experience or money, started for the village Herkimer, where he soon entered the printing office of the *Herkimer American*, to serve an apprenticeship for several years. William L. Stone, and Thurlow Weed had but recently served in the same office. Besides learning young Ellis the trade, including book work, his employer was to board him, and allow him fifty dollars a year for clothing; this latter allowance, however, was soon compounded, by permitting him, in lieu thereof, to enjoy the proceeds of whatever job work might offer itself every Saturday afternoon, which proved very much to his advantage, frequently realizing three or four dollars on such allotted afternoons, besides imparting an early self-reliance, and stimulating a taste for success in business. He was thus enabled, young as he was, to spare small sums every successive week for his mother and sister, of which they stood in great need.

Gen. Ellis attributes to the thoughtfulness of David Holt, then a prominent citizen of Herkimer, who induced him to attend church regularly on the Sabbath, the avoidance of evil associates, by which many young men are step by step, led on to ruin. Mr. Holt, it may be added, resided awhile in Madison, and died at Janesville, Wisconsin, January eighth 1853, at the age of seventy-three years.

At Herkimer, young Ellis became intimately acquainted with Francis E. Spinner, since so well known as Treasurer of the United States, who, though two years his junior, was quite a superior scholar. The contrast, exhibiting the result of mental culture, and the want of it on the part of the young printer, was mortifying to him, and proved a powerful incentive to him to make the best of his limited opportunities for intellectual culture.

When the term of his apprenticeship terminated, Mr. Ellis repaired to his native town of Verona, where was a small grammar school, taught by Thomas Taylor Loomis, which he entered, spending six months in close application, mastering Murray's grammar and Daboll's arithmetic. He now yielded to solicitations from Rev. Eleazer Williams—since famous for his claim to the Dauphinship—to join him at the Oneida Castle as a teacher to the Oneida Indians, holding out many flattering promises, among the rest, lessons in the Latin and French languages. Thus he engaged November, 1819, in giving instructions to the young Oneidas in English branches by day, and in singing almost every night. But instead of Mr. Williams giving him the promised lessons in Latin and French, he insisted on Mr. Ellis teaching him the English, of which he was greatly deficient. Mr. Williams, however, pressed his instructions in the Mohawk language upon Mr. Ellis; but, as the sequel proved, he had a personal end to subserve in the matter. He was frequently absent at Albany, and New York, that year, and needed Mr. Ellis to read the church paryers and homilies, in the Mohawk language, to his people on Sundays during his absence.

Thus for nearly three years he continued in the employ of Mr. Williams, with few or no opportunities for private study. In May, 1822, he was appointed, by the Domestic and Foreign Mission Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, catechist and lay reader to the Oneidas at Green Bay, accompanying Williams there, which position he held for nearly five years.

In 1827, Governor Cass made Mr. Ellis Inspector of Provisions for the District of Green Bay. He was appointed a Deputy Surveyor of Government lands, by the Surveyor-General, Edward Tiffin, in July, 1828, executing several surveys under his directions. In the fall of 1830, he was chosen secretary, and to construct a map for a delegation of the Menomonee Indians visiting Washington, under charge of their Indian Agent, Col. S. C. Stambaugh, spending the ensuing winter at the Federal City. He was appointed, in August, 1832, a commissioner to survey and establish a boundary line between the Menomonee and New York Indians; and, in 1833, he was designated by the Surveyor-General, to survey a large district of public lands, near Green Bay, which, by renewed appointments in 1834 and 1835, was extended to neighboring districts.

In 1836, Mr. Ellis was elected a member from Brown County to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory; and after serving one year, resigned; and was, in 1837, appointed by President Van Buren Surveyor-General of Wisconsin and Iowa, which position he filled till 1841, when he resigned. He again served in the Territorial

Legislature in 1842 and 1843; and was soon after appointed Sub-Indian Agent for the District of Green Bay, serving in that capacity till 1848, when he resigned. In 1853 he was appointed Receiver of the Land Office at Stevens Point, and re-appointed in 1858, filling the position till 1862. He for five terms served as Mayor of Stevens Point, when he declined any longer to fill that position of honor and trust. The Green Bay *Intelligencer*, the pioneer newspaper of Wisconsin, was started at the close of 1833, which he ably edited and conducted for a considerable period; and he subsequently established *The Pinery* at Stevens' Point. His contributions to the volumes of Collections of our Historical Society have proved of great value and interest.

General Ellis has lived an active and useful life, rendering good service to his fellow-men, and setting a worthy example to all classes of society. In his green old age, he has the good wishes and benedictions of all who know him. L. C. D.

GENERAL ELLIS' RECOLLECTIONS.

In the month of June, 1821, I left Oneida county, N. Y., destined for Michigan and Green Bay—in the then little known, and far off, Northwest. I was in company Eleazar Williams, since of Dauphin notoriety, and some half dozen Oneida Indians, on their way to the country west of Lake Michigan, to treat with the Western tribes for a cession of lands, for a new home for themselves, and such of the Oneida tribe as should join them. There were no rail-roads in those days: we found locomotion by that marvel of speed and pleasure, a stage coach. The roads were deep and progress slow. At Onondaga our number was increased by a young Onondaga, styled a delegate, though any authority he might have derived from that tribe, was afterwards denied. We reached Buffalo after a journey of four days.

Buffalo we found to be a straggling village of a hundred houses, much dispersed. On the main street, were the foundations of many that had been burned, as we were told, during the war of 1812. At quite the upper part of the town we found Benjamin Rathbun, since of forging memory, in a new tavern house, which he called the Eagle. He had just established himself here, having failed in business at Montello, Otsego county, N. Y., three years before, where he had been engaged in trade, and issuing shin-plasters of denominations of quarters, halves, three quarters, and one and a half dollars. We stopped at the Eagle; and though small, it was a marvel of neatness and order.

Buffalo had no good harbor at that day; the creek, now the harbor, had a sand bar across the mouth, over which the town cattle and horses crossed. All the shipping of Lake Erie stopped at Black Rock, two miles down the Niagara River; and it was problematical whether Buffalo would ever have a harbor. The new steamboat "Walk-in-the-water," built by capitalists from Albany, and after the North River models, commanded by captain Rogers, lay at the wharf at Black Rock. We took passage in her for Detroit. She was furnished with what the engineer called a "powerful low

pressure engine" ; but she could not, with all her power, stem the rapids, and go out into the Lake, but had to be towed out by nine yoke of oxen going along the beach, at the end of a line of six hundred feet, which was cast off as soon as the steamer got out of the rapids into the Lake. This boat had great length, with but little breadth, was very slender, and proved unseaworthy, having broken in two, the next fall, in a storm on Lake Erie—the lives of the passengers being saved by beaching her just below Dunkirk. She, however, took us safely to Detroit—in fact, made the tour of the Lakes, to Mackinaw, the Sault, and Green Bay, and returning, during the calms of summer, to the great delight of the master and crew, only to prove an entire failure the first rough weather.

There was not a good harbor on the south shore of the Lake, except Sandusky. At Erie, Ashtabula, and Cleveland, bars had formed across the mouths of the streams, and goods had to be lightened off. We reached Detroit at the end of the third day. The town was not as large as it is now. It was built on a single street, parallel with the River, and something over half a mile in length. There was one brick house, that of Gen. Macomb, a rather respectable structure, but the General had left it, under orders from the War Department, for another part of the country. There was besides this house of General Macomb, a small brick market-house, quite new—the pride of the city; a tavern of wood, of moderate pretensions; a Council house of poles set on end, and the joints filled with lime mortar. There were besides, some hundred or less of small houses and shops; and last, but not least, Governor Cass' dwelling, a square structure of logs, lathed and plastered inside and out, quite out of town, down the River bank, at least three-fourths of a mile.

The population of Detroit was mixed, the French Canadian prevailing. There were many half-breeds, and it being the season of the year when the Indians usually came in from their wintering grounds, the wild Chippewas seemed to be in undisputed possession. They did not appear over select in their language or manners; still they were quite inoffensive to the whites, especially the French traders, to whose every order and command they rendered most instant obedience. No police existed or was necessary.

Woodward kept the principal hotel, which was well patronized.

It was at Woodward's that I observed the wall ornamented with a large map of Michigan, laying down nearly the whole interior of the Territory, (on authority said to have been derived from the War Department,) as a swamp.

The Court was in session—held at the afore-mentioned Council-house, made of poles set on end. The whole building may have been fifty feet in length, twenty-four feet in width, and ten to the roof in height. Curious to witness the dispensation of justice in those ends of the earth, I ventured into the august presence. The whole Court consisted of his Honor, Judge Witherell, three lawyers, and as many suitors; juries not yet having traveled so far towards sunset. One of the counsel, a Mr. Biddle, was discussing some obscure question, involving title to land; the Court seemed in much perplexity; the opposing counsel only made darkness more visible. The lawyers at length paused for the decision from the bench. It was in the afternoon of one of the hottest days in June; the court-room seemed in a broil—the Judge being the chief victim. He wiped the perspiration from his naked poll with no seeming relief; at length rising with much dignity, he proceeded, not to a decision of the case, but deliberately to the door of the Council-room, and without explanation of any kind, marched into the street, and thence to the wharf at the River, and sitting down, with his feet over the water, having on neither hat nor coat, amused himself for an hour or more throwing sticks and pebbles at the fishes. Having at length apparently cooled his head, and quieted his nerves, he rose, and with the same deliberation observed in his egress, returned to the court-room and resumed his seat. The suitors and counsel, being probably accustomed to his moods, had all quietly maintained their places during recess, and were ready for a resumption of the case. The Judge, as if nothing unusual had happened, proceeded to give his decision, which, if it did not please both parties, evidently satisfied them, as immediate acquiescence followed. I learned that with all his eccentricities, he failed not of securing the confidence of the people, both of the bar and the suitors.

Though a majority of the inhabitants of Detroit were of the plebeian order, Canadian and mixed blood prevailing, yet there was not wanting a good proportion of well-educated, intelligent, cultivated people, who would have graced almost any society; for open,

free-hearted manners to strangers, and genuine hospitality, they were an honor to our common humanity.

Detroit River presented most creditable improvements along its banks; the farms being occupied on the old French plan of one of three arpents* in width, and extending eighty arpents deep—the houses were generally but a few rods apart on the River bank; and there was a halo of antiquity in their appearance. Cultivation was thorough in a few cereals, and most of the vegetables; orchards of apple and pear trees invariably occupied the front—the trees indicating a growth of a hundred years. Every point on the River bank was garnished with a huge wind-mill—water-mills being unknown at that time in this part of the globe.

Eleazer Williams and his Indian delegates lingered here some weeks, awaiting the arrival of delegates from the Stockbridges, the St. Regis, the Tuscaroras, and the Senecas; also pausing for further action of Gov. Cass, and the War Department, sanctioning this movement of the New York Indians towards acquiring a new home in the West—Green Bay. The arrangement at length came to a completion; all the delegates arrived—Gov. Cass and the War Department sanctioned the proceedings, and C. C. Trowbridge, a confidant of Gov. Cass, was appointed special agent on the part of the Government to superintend the negotiations. The steamboat "Walk-in-the-Water" was on her great annual trip around the lakes; to Mackinaw, Sault St. Marie, and Green Bay, for Chicago was not yet included in these yearly trips. The Williams party took passage in her; we found five companies of United States troops with their officers on board, destined for the upper posts.

While at Detroit, I had contracted what was then known as the "Lake fever,"—a severe sickness, under which I languished for three weeks; but now convalescing, was considered able to continue the trip. While on the boat, between Detroit and Mackinaw, I had a relapse, and becoming worse than ever, I was carried ashore at the latter place in a hopeless condition. Dr. Wm. Beaumont, of the U. S. Army, was called, and prescribed for me once, and left for Vermont, where he went to take a wife, turning me over to his assistant, a young man of generous impulses. With his skill, good

*An arpent is about one-seventh less than an English acre.

nursing, and the aid of a good constitution, I weathered the gale, and in a few days was on my feet.

The Indian delegates, with Mr. Williams and Mr. Trowbridge, continued on to the Bay, where, after much delay and opposition from interested parties, they succeeded in negotiating with the Winnebagoes and Menomonees, for a small cession just above the Grand Kaukalin.

At Mackinaw I was placed at a boarding house kept by a Madame Allen, who treated me with great kindness. Lying sick the first night, two of her boarders were discussing some contested point, in rather loud and boisterous language, when she checked them and pointed to a "sick and dying man" on a bed in the corner of her large square sitting room. Immediate silence ensued, and the larger and most rough spoken of the two immediately arose, approached my bed, and, in the most respectful manner, wished to know my distress, and what he could do for my relief. He was a blacksmith in the employ of the American Fur Company, and I confess, was looked on by me with little favor. He insisted on watching with me for the night; inquiring minutely of the landlady about medicines to be given, and all the particulars of the doctor's orders. He made good his professions, watched with all a brother's or sister's tenderness, not that night only, but for many nights thereafter, patiently, unremittingly, all by himself, without aid from any one, till the disease yielded, and I was restored to health. No father, brother, or dearest friend could have held to me with more devotion; how I reproached myself for the unfavorable opinion I had at first formed. Such was my introductory acquaintance with William Sylvester, who, after marrying the daughter of Mrs. Allen, whom he was at the time visiting, removed from Mackinaw to Green Bay, where he resided eight years, then to Portage City, and then to Grand Marsh, on the Wisconsin, where he lived many years, after a while removing to Fond du Lac. He spent a life-time in Wisconsin, honored and beloved; raised a family of eleven children, all reputable citizens of the State, and died some three months ago at Fond du Lac, in his eighty-second year. He held several positions of public trust, all of which he filled with honor and fidelity, and has left a name and fame of which his children may be justly proud.

At the end of a fortnight, the New York Indian delegates re-

turned from Green Bay, and we all proceeded together down the Lakes to our old homes. Williams and the delegates reported to the several tribes the result of their negotiations with their Western brethren. The ensuing spring, 1822, application was made to the War Department for a renewal of permission of the delegates for a second visit to Green Bay, to make payment in goods for their purchase of the year before, and to assay an extension of the purchase at Little Chute. The response of the Government was favorable, and Governor Cass was instructed accordingly. This delegation was much larger than that of the year before; the Stockbridges and Munsees were more fully represented. Solomon U. Hendricks, hereditary and principal chief, being of the party; arriving at Detroit, John Sargeant, was appointed by Gov. Cass, to superintend the negotiations on the part of the Government.

We came up Lake Erie this year in the new steamboat *Superior*, which had been constructed on the ruins of the "*Walk-in-the-Water*;" but on quite a different model, being a staunch sea boat, and as she afterwards proved, able to out-ride the most severe storms of these boisterous inland seas. She was commanded by Captain Norton, a veteran seaman. We remained some time at Detroit, and finally took passage for Green Bay, about the fourth of August, in the schooner *Superior*, commanded by Captain Gillett. We had a tedious passage of nearly three weeks, entering the Fox River at daylight, on the first of September. The sun coming up in majestic splendor, gilded the shores of the River, and the hamlet of Green Bay, with light and beauty. Both banks, for five or six miles, were dotted with the settlers' cabins, which were uniformly white-washed with lime; and in the bright morning sun, at a mile's distance, shone like balls of fire. The scene was a perfect enchantment.

The captain of the *Superior* dropped anchor abreast Fort Howard, at that time unoccupied, and in a state of dilapidation; the troops having been removed two years before by the Colonel commanding—one Colonel Smith *—two and one-half miles up the River, to an

* Joseph Lee Smith, sixth child of Elnathan and Chloe Lee Smith, was born at New Britain, Connecticut, May 28, 1779. Having obtained a respectable education, he studied law, and settled down in its practice in New Britain, and married Miss Frances M. Kirby, of Litchfield. When the army was augmented in anticipation of a war with Great Britain, he was appointed Major of the Twenty-Fifth Infantry, in March 1812; Lieutenant-Colonel of the Twenty-Fourth Infantry, in March, 1813; and, in September 1814, was transferred to the Twenty-Fifth Infantry. On the return of peace, he was retained, May 1815, in the Fifth Infantry, and promoted to the Colonelcy of the Third Regiment, in February, 1818. When Dr. Jedediah Morse visited Green Bay, in 1820, he found Colonel Smith in command of that

eminence on the right bank, which he named Camp Smith, and where he had built a stockade, and indifferent barracks. But the location being half a mile from the River, which it failed of commanding, was decided against by his superiors, as an unfit site for the garrison. Smith was superceded in the command, and the troops moved back to Fort Howard that fall, under command of Colonel Pinkney.* The Fort was fully repaired, and thenceforward made the rendezvous for all the troops and army operations of the Upper Country. During the two years that Colonel Smith had held the troops at Camp Smith, all the followers of the army of the Bay country, amounting to some hundreds, had ensconced themselves along the River bank, just below and in front of the stockades, where they had erected numerous sheds, many of them half in, and half out of the bank, and in which they had gathered their various articles of commerce and trade. This little nondescript village had obtained the soubriquet of "Shantytown," and which the locality wears to the present time. The ruin of Camp Smith, although greatly injuring "Shantytown," did not quite destroy it, business had so strong a hold there. It had three of the principal traders, with their stocks of goods, and was fast being known as the business point for the whole vicinage. Robert Irwin, Jr., had built him a good residence, had his young wife, his father and mother, brothers and sisters with him, and was engaged in trade. Daniel Whitney, the most enterprising trader in the Northwest, had erected a good store, and filled it with merchandise. William Dickinson, another pushing trader, was building a store and dwelling house. Soon after, H. S. Baird, built a house there, and occupied it with his young wife; and in another year, Judge Doty,

post; and in June, 1821, he was disbanded. On the Territorial organization of Florida Colonel Smith was appointed, by President Monroe, United States Judge of the Superior Court of East Florida, which position he retained for some twelve years. He died at St. Augustine, May 27, 1846, at the age of sixty-seven years. His son, Ephraim Kirby Smith, who entered as a cadet at West Point in 1822, became a Second Lieutenant in 1826, serving at Green Bay from 1827 to 1829, and again in 1832-33; attaining the rank of Captain in 1833. While commanding a battalion of light infantry, as Acting Major, he distinguished himself at the battle of Cherubusco, and was mortally wounded after the capture of the enemy's field battery, at El Molino Del Rey, dying three days after, September 11, 1847, near Mexico City, at the age of forty years. A younger son, Edmund Kirby Smith, a native of Florida, was a cadet in 1841, served at Cerro Gordo, where he was wounded, and at Contreras, Churubusco, Chapultepec, and the capture of the City of Mexico; was a while engaged as Assistant Professor of Mathematics at West Point, and then on frontier service in Texas; was subsequently made Captain of cavalry, fighting the Comanches, and promoted to Major in January, 1861; soon after resigning and joining the rebellion, and obtaining the rank of General in the Confederate service.
L. C. D.

* Colonel Ninian Pinkney, a native of Maryland, entered the army as Lieutenant in 1799 becoming a Captain in 1807, and Brigade Inspector in 1809; a Major in January, 1813, and aid to General Wilkinson, and Inspector-General with the rank of Colonel, the same year; Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, in 1814, distinguishing himself in the affair at Lyon's Creek under General Bissell; advanced to a Colonel in 1820, and died at Baltimore December 15, 1825.
L. C. D.

having arrived from Prairie du Chien, built a fine dwelling, just above the village, and procured the establishment of the seat of justice for Brown county, at this same "Shantytown," the name of which he ineffectually attempted to change to Menomoneeville. A court-house and jail, the first west of Lake Michigan, were erected here; and here the seat of justice continued, and courts were held, until some years afterwards. William Dickinson, Ebenezer Childs, and others also, had established themselves, under the name of the Depere Manufacturing Company, procured, through act of the Michigan Legislature, and a vote of the people, its removal to Depere. Many other parties besides those named had, as early as 1824, established themselves at this "Shantytown;" and soon thereafter, the Episcopal Mission School, under the superintendence of Rev. Richard F. Cadle, with extensive buildings, was there located, to be followed next year by fixing the Indian Agency at that point also, under Major Brevoort. The erection of a respectable church edifice, and school buildings by the Catholics, soon followed. The place went on, increasing in strength and population till 1832, when the platting of Navarino below it, opposite Fort Howard, and of Depere above it, at Rapid des Peres, began to draw away its people and business, when it slowly declined; Navarino and Astor absorbing most of its trade and inhabitants.

But to return from this digression to the time of our arrival, 1822. Not a shingle had been put up at that part of the town of Green Bay first called Navarino—there were only three buildings on the east side of the Fox River, below Lawe's Point, and those the houses which had been vacated by the Langlades—one occupied by Pierre Grignon; and a house but just put up by some of Langlade's grand children, I think Augustin Grignon; and these Grignons were the leading families of the French inhabitants. They were descended on the mother's side from the primitive settlers, the Langlades; the father, Pierre Grignon, Senior, having married Domitilde, the daughter of Charles de Langlade. These Langlades were descended from a French nobleman of that name, who came out from France to Canada at the beginning of the last century; this Augustin de Langlade found his way while yet a young man to Mackinaw, engaged in Indian trade, and married a chieftain's daughter of the Ottawas; and he and his son, Charles, afterward located at Green Bay, and are believed to have been the very first

white settlers of the place. Charles de Langlade was a noted character in his day—the grand father of the Grignon family of my time. He had occupied all the east shore of the Fox River, from Devil River up as high as Lawe's Point, and dying left it to his grand children—the Grignons, who were in possession on my first arrival at the Bay. There were some half dozen houses along the River, below Lawe's Point, occupied by the family, and a new one just finished, which afterward fell into Judge Arndt's hands; and an old one, much dilapidated, just at the mouth of the little slough below Arndt's house, only a part of which was still remaining, was said to have been the building occupied by Charles de Langlade, and in which he had died. Pierre Grignon, the oldest of the Grignon brothers, was living in a house a few rods above Arndt's old place.

On the west side was the old fort; not a building of any kind above, below or near it for a mile. The residents on the River, except some half a dozen Americans, were retired French *royageurs*, and half-breed French and Menomonees; they had without let or hindrance, taken up the whole shore of the River above the fort, for six miles; divided it off into little strips of one or two French arpents in width, which they called their farms; they claimed back at right angles from the River eighty arpents, about two and three-fourths miles in depth. They had reduced most of the fronts for an acre, or two, or three, some more, some less deep, to a state of cultivation; and had growing at the time of our arrival, the first of September, very fair crops of potatoes, maize, oats, peas, spring wheat, pumpkins, melons, cabbages, onions, and other common garden vegetables. Most of them had teams of native oxen, and a kind of implement claimed to be a plow, with which they broke the soil. This plow went on wheels, one of which was twice the size of the other, the larger one going in the furrow, the smaller one going on the land. The plow beam was fourteen feet in length; the chip, on which the share was fastened, was four feet long, and altogether, when in motion was drawn by six or eight bulls, it was a formidable object, and answered well the end of its construction. The furrows were nearly two feet in width, but quite shallow. The style of plowing was what is known as "back furrowing," and only two each way, to a land, forming ridges about eight feet wide, with a dead furrow between, which insured thorough drainage. The break-

ing was commonly done in June; then leaving it till the next spring, when as soon as the farmer could get at it, even before the frost was fairly out of the ground, it was thoroughly harrowed, and if for wheat, the seed put in without waiting for warm weather.

These bull-teams were a curiosity to a raw American. The animals were unblemished—the yoke was a straight stick of hickory, worked off smooth, and bound to the bulls' necks just back of the horns, with a strip of raw hide, to which stick was fastened the pole of the cart, on which rested the plow beam. Besides these bull teams for plowing, these settlers had ponies of a harly kind, with which they managed to propel a rude cart in summer; and a kind of sled, called a train, or another called a cariole, in winter; the ponies were always worked singly—no two were ever harnessed abreast. With these trains, loaded with ten to fourteen hundred pounds, they would undertake journeys in winter to the Rocky Mountains, if required. It was the common mode of moving merchandise long distances in winter—taking the place of boat in summer. Mr. Daniel Whitney usually employed a caravan of these ponies and trains with their French drivers every winter to transport supplies from Green Bay to St. Peters.

These native settlers of Green Bay lived in primeval simplicity; of all people, they seemed the most innocent, honest, truthful and unsuspecting. They had, moreover, a most perfect immunity from want, their little fields were productive; the River was alive with fish and fowl; summer and winter their food was of the best, and in greatest abundance, and only required the taking. A narrator would not dare state the truth of the abundance of wild fowl, fish and game with which the country abounded, on pain of being held by the listener, an unmitigated Munchausen. Their habiliments were obtained with equal facility. Both sexes, for the most part, arrayed themselves in garments procured from the chase; those of the males were almost entirely of deer skin, while the females indulged in a few cotton stuffs obtained from the traders. All wore the moccasin; not a boot or shoe was to be seen among them.

These simple people inherited their manners from their forefathers, the French of Lower Canada; and politeness and strict "good-breeding" was the rule, from the highest to the lowest. It gave them ease and gracefulness of deportment, often a surprise and reproach to the brusque, abrupt Yankee, rendering their com-

pany acceptable and engaging with the most cultivated and polite, and insuring, in their intercourse with each other, the preservation of friendly feeling and good will. They had been sought out by the Catholic ministers, their children were all baptised Christians, had been taught the creed and commandments, and grew up simple-hearted, trusting people. They were strict observers of the seasons of festivals and feasts; from Christmas to Ash-Wednesday, the whole settlement was rife with feasting, dancing, and merry-making; but, on the approach of Lent, it was suddenly suspended till Easter.

The Lenten fast was strictly observed by these good Catholics; *i. e.*, they ceased gormandizing ducks, venison and porcupine, only to feast in more epicurean style on trout, sturgeon and wild rice, the dressing of which, in a manner to tempt the most fastidious, they understood and practised. They went for marketing purposes, about forty miles down the Bay, on the west shore, to the Indian fishing grounds, with their pony horses before the train, and furnished with an outfit of potatoes, salt, a few yards of coarse calico, and a few plugs of tobacco, they bartered for sturgeon and trout, and loading it into the train in the manner of cord wood, they returned to their cabins with abundant food, of rare delicacy, for the winter and spring; then the Lenten fast commenced with them in good earnest.

The Easter festival was the most joyous of the calendar; with most of them it was celebrated in the deep forests, where they had before repaired, for one of their chief industries, the making of maple sugar: which requires a little more special notice. It was a source of the greatest amusement, as well as profit, occupying two or three months of every year, and engaged nearly the whole population, male and female, children and all. They probably got the art from the Indians, and greatly improved on the savage mode. About the first to the fifteenth of February, preparations were made throughout the settlement for repairing to the *sucrerie*, or sugar-bush—for moving from their home cabins on the River bank, into the deep wood, often many miles distant; taking generally most of their household treasures, even to their chickens; and they made the business worthy of their preparations. Some of them had as many as five hundred, eight hundred, and some one thousand sugar trees tapped. A few of their sugar-houses were quite large, and as

good as those at the River, well furnished, with buckets, store troughs, kettles, etc. The ground was neatly cleared of underbush, and roads made to every part of it. The first business of the season, after arriving at the *sucrerie*, was to provide a good store of fuel for purposes of boiling; next to overhaul and repair the buckets, which had been carefully stored in the sugar-house the spring before. These buckets were made from the birch bark—nothing else would suffice. This bark, it may be added, is taken from the tree by the Indians in June, and made an object of merchandize, like peltries, by the traders. These various preparations would consume perhaps a month before the commencement of the sap-running season.

The product of those *sucreries* of the better class of the French, was a fair article of sugar, of ready sale, and in some respects preferable to the best muscovado. They had learned to use the utmost neatness and caution to keep out all impurities, and had attained to great perfection in the purifying process. All the sap was strained through a fine sieve into the kettles—the syrup was strained twice before granulating; and here came in the product of the chickens, to-wit, the eggs, the whites of which were broken in the boiling syrup, when all impurities immediately came the surface and were removed. The sugar, when strained off and cooled, was quite fair and pure. Some of the more enterprising and forehanded, bought syrup and coarse sugar of their Indian retainers, and their less able neighbors, and went into the purifying process on a large scale, and thus largely increased their product for the season. A few families of this class had a preference in the sugar market at the frontier trading posts, their mococks, branded with their names, always being first sought, at advanced prices.

As before stated, the Easter festival was generally observed at those *sucreries*; for this reason, those who had the chickens, and could do it, took them into the woods, made houses for them, and saved a store of eggs for this festival. Then it was that their friends at the settlement, the Americans and army officers, were invited to visit them, and the invitations were rarely declined. The American citizens, the gentlemen and ladies of the army, found no greater enjoyment than one of these spring festivals, celebrated among their French and half-breed entertainers in the depth of the great maple woods, in their commodious sugar-houses. There was never-failing good cheer, somewhat enlarged, perhaps, by their

visitors in a pic-nic style; which was followed with strains of the merry violin and the dance, and at length the guests retired with pleasing, vivid recollections of the Easter festival among the French, at the *sucreries*. These frolics were often enlivened by an old fashioned "candy-pull," when the French girls presented their sweet-hearts, on parting, with a cake of candy, folded in a strip of birch bark, which they called their "billet doux."

Apropos of the sugar making. Some years previous, Congress had passed a law prohibiting trade in the Indian country by any but citizens of the United States; and further, had attempted to divest the Indians of foreign influence by the establishment of trading posts by Government agents called factors, one of which was located at each of the several important points in the Indian country. One had been placed at Green Bay, and Major Matthew Irwin, of Pennsylvania, appointed to the office. We found him at Fort Howard, in 1822, the sole occupant of the post, in his stone building, and living under the same roof with his family; the troops having been removed two years before to Camp Smith. Major Irwin was a gentleman of intelligence, culture and integrity, and as well fitted for the trust as any citizen totally unacquainted with the Indian country, its trade and inhabitants, could be—that is, not fitted at all; and moreover, being furnished by the Government with goods unsuited to the Indian trade, and coming in competing contact, with life-long experienced, astute traders, of course the effort to gain confidence, trust and influence with the Indians, was a total failure. His sleazy, woolen blankets, cheap calico, and, worst of all, his poor unservicable guns, were all rejected by the Indians; and during his four years' trade, he did not secure fifty dollars worth of peltries; but the natives, as well as French inhabitants, made quantities of maple sugar; this was not current at New York, for payment of goods, as peltries were; and so not much cared for by the old traders. The Indians resorted with it to the United States factor, Major Irwin, who bought large quantities of it; and had many thousand pounds in store at the time of our arrival in 1822. The experiment of these Government factors for controlling the Indian trade, and extricating the natives from the influence of the old traders—most of them under British rule—having by this time proved a failure in every way, financially as well as politically, an order for their discontinuance was made; and that

fall Major Irwin closed up most of the business, shipped his sugar to Detroit, turned over the concern to a young gentleman succeeding him, by the name of Ringgold, and left the country.* Messrs. Herron and Whitney, sutlers to the troops, bought Major Irwin's house, and the old factory was converted into a hospital building for the sick of the garrison.

But it is time I should return to Mr. Williams, and the Indian delegation. The party had arrived on the first of September. The first business was to find shelter—some building to camp down in. On the west side of the River was an unoccupied house, which had been erected by Colonel Bowyer, the United States Indian agent, who had died there two years before. Supposing it to be Government property, and by advice of the commandant of the fort, and no one objecting, the party, Williams at the head, took possession—made a few repairs, and went into winter quarters. The building was sufficiently commodious for a dozen or twenty, and there was a log barn, answering for storage purposes; also an out door cellar, called a root-house.

The first business of Williams and the delegates, after housing themselves and the goods, was, to assemble the Indians—the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and in compliance with stipulations of their treaty made the year before, pay them \$1500 in goods. In less than a week both tribes, to the number of three or four thousand, were assembled, and camped along the River bank. A day being appointed, and the American and French citizens, with the officers of the garrison, notified the grand council; the New York delegates, the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, were gathered in front of the old Agency house; the spectacle was quite imposing. Solomon U. Hendricks, chief of the Stockbridges, or, as he styled them, the Mohickanucks, a man of education, and of more than common ability, made the opening speech. He addressed the Menomonees and Winnebagoes as his grand children—told them that the few goods before them were presented not so much in fulfillment of their treaty stipulation, as a testimonial of their love and affection for their grand children. The Menomonees and Winnebagoes made suitable replies, acknowledging the relationship, by calling the New York Indians grand-fathers. The goods, consist-

*See notice of Major Matthew Irwin, and his reports on the Green Bay Indian trade, in the next succeeding paper. L. C. D.

ing of blankets, calicoes, blue cloths, guns, powder, lead and shot, barrels of pork and flour, with a liberal supply of tobacco, were carefully divided in two equal piles, and presented to the two tribes. The treaties were produced, the proper receipts drawn on them, when the chiefs of each tribe signed, and the officers of the army, citizens, agents, and interpreters witnessing. Nor a drop of liquor was seen; and the remaining part of the day was devoted to feasting.

On re-assembling the parties the next day, when the deputies of New York Indians made an effort to procure an extension of the session, the Winnebagoes were ready instantly with a reply, declining most positively to grant it. They were already being crowded; white people below Chicago were beginning to pass northward. The Menomonees' answer was scarcely more encouraging; they could not sell any more.

The Winnebagoes were preparing to leave for their fall hunts; but before starting, they would treat their grandfathers to a dance. The whole tribe assembled in front of the house in a large circle, the dancers, and drummer—the master of ceremonies—in the center; first they gave the pipe dance, an amusing affair, a single one dancing at a time, the trick of which seemed to be to keep time the drum, and especially to suspend action instantaneously with the cessation of the instrument—the dancer to remain in the exact attitude in which the cessation of the drum caught him; frequently the attitude was ridiculous in the extreme; and the maintaining it for a moment, till the drum commenced again, formed an exciting tableau. Next followed the begging dance, preceded by a speech of the drummer, setting forth the extreme want of some of their very old, poor people, and asking charity in their behalf.

The whole concluded with the war dance, a sight to test the nerves of the stoutest heart. The Winnebagoes at that time, fifty-four years ago, were in all their perfection of savage wildness; two thousand of them, men and women, old and young, were massed in a circle, standing fifty deep; the whites, army officers, in the inner ring, and the warrior dancers, drummer, and singers in the center. Twenty of their most stalwart young warriors took their places with not a thread of clothing save the breech-cloth; but all painted in most gorgeous colors, and especially the faces, with circles of black, white, red, green and blue, around the eyes, giving the coun-

tenances expressions indescribably fierce and hideous, all armed with tomahawks, knives, and spears. At first the dance was slow, to measured time of the drum and song; for there were a hundred singers, with the voice of the drummer, both male and female—the latter prevailing above the former. Soon they began to wax warm, the countenances assumed unearthly expressions of fierceness; their tread shook the solid earth, and their yells at the end of each cadence, rent the very heavens. None could endure the scene unmoved—unappalled. This tribe at that period, with their stalwart men, Amazonian women, and independent mein, athletic figures, and defiant bearing, can hardly be recognized as the same race, in the degraded Oneidas, who are now seen in our streets, whose abject mien, attenuated, shrunken forms, half-starved, naked, destitute, miserable, mendicants, half civilized though they be, furnish a painful commentary on our Indian civilization.

When the dances were concluded, a shaking of hands, with a grand “bosho,” all round, the Winnebagoes prepared to leave the ground; and in an hour, there was not a sign of one to be seen. The Menomonees lingered; they felt more kindly disposed toward their grand-fathers; negociations were soon renewed, resulting finally in a further treaty, granting the New York Indians a right in common with them, to all their country without reserve; the which treaty, though no doubt made in good faith, became subsequently the source of almost endless trouble, terminating at last in confining the New York Indians to two small reserves; one for the Stockbridges, Munsees and Brothertowns, on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, of some eight by twelve miles; and the other twelve miles square on Duck Creek, for the Oneidas; and from this last, the whites are just now moving heaven and earth to dislodge the Indians.

The negociations concluded, and the Menomonees having retired, the New York Indians began to look out for winter quarters. There were but few of either party that had come as emigrants; those of the Stockbridges located at Grand Kaukalin; the few Oneidas chose the Little Kaukalin. Many of the deputies returned to New York.

A proposed object of Williams, was to establish an Episcopal mission at Green Bay. He had visited New York and Philadelphia the spring before, and been duly commissioned as missionary to the Western Indians, by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal church; and had procured for the win-

ter, an appointment of school teacher to the same. The fall wearing on, and winter approaching, I suggested to Mr. Williams the propriety of taking measures to open a school; to which he made reply, that there was no hurry—that, in fact, the committee of the church had made no provision for expenses; intimating at the same time, a doubt as to the propriety of opening a school till spring.

He proposed quite other employment for me; none other than to assist him in copying out from old manuscript sermons, a set for his use, to preach to the garrison at Fort Howard. I assisted him in rendering several of the old manuscripts—sermons of his forefathers, the Williams, of Deerfield*—into English; and then, the more difficult undertaking of the two, to teach him to pronounce them so as to be understood.

Not considering this work that for which I had been commissioned by the committee, I excused myself from further teaching Mr. Williams, and began to cast about for means of opening a school for the church. A room was the first essential; there was one quite ample, and every way fitted, in the old Agency house we were occupying; but Williams thought it could not be spared. A few rods distant was a small cabin of two rooms, belonging to a family named L'Ecuyer, of which a young woman, sister of a brother then absent, was occupying, with an aunt and a man of all work. I was told Miss L'Ecuyer would allow me the use of one of her rooms for school purposes. Robert Irwin, Jr., kindly offered to furnish the room at his own expense, with a stove, and a few desks and benches. About the twentieth of October, notice was given that a free school would be opened for children without distinction of age, color or condition. It was immediately filled to the capacity of the room; the parents were interested, the scholars kindly disposed and well behaved, and the school, on the whole, all that could reasonably be expected. It was continued with nothing remarkable till the tenth of February, when, in the afternoon, at dismissal, Miss L'Ecuyer sent one of the young women of the school to ask an interview. Certainly, I said; what would she desire? After a good deal of hesitancy, she let me know that she wanted the

*This fact of Eleazer Williams having old manuscript sermons of his Williams' connections, of Deerfield, Mass., several of whom were well-known clergymen in their day, is of itself pretty good evidence that he was regarded by that branch of the family as a bona-fide descendant of Eunice Williams, the Deerfield captive; and strongly suggests, moreover, that his claim to the Dauphinship was a mere after-thought, hatched up to flatter his vanity, and give him notoriety. L. C. D.

room—wished me to remove my school. Expressing some surprise and regret, hoping I had not offended, she soon let me know that she expected another occupant—in short, that she was going to be married. Of course I had no plea to make, but resigned the room at once, and Miss L'Ecuyer was married.

I then got Williams' permission to remove the school to a room in the old Agency house, which was accomplished the next day, and I fancied myself secure from further catastrophes, of that kind at least. Vain hope! We went on quietly enough in our new quarters for about six weeks; the children were learning rapidly, and I was beginning to build great hopes for the future. Attending the school were two young misses, daughters of Joseph Jourdain; one of them, the younger, named Madelaine, was fair, and of rather pleasing deportment. I noticed almost every day, Mr. Williams, in his visits to the school, bestowed more than common attention on the Miss Jourdains; and under pretense of their assisting him in learning to pronounce the French language, inviting them to his room after school.

One evening, the first week in March, Mr. Williams, after school was dismissed, inquired if I were disposed to take him out riding, as I had a pony and cariole at my disposal; to which I readily assented. Early in the evening, I found him arrayed in his best, and waiting. We set forth; I asking where I should drive? To the fort probably? Well? yes, no; but, he added, we have not called on your friends the Jourdains for a long time; suppose we drop in there first for a moment. We dropped in; the young ladies were not visible—the old lady received us with more than usual cordiality; Mr. Jourdain was polite, and conversation did not flag. The only stranger I noticed, except ourselves, was Ebenezer Childs, who seemed quite at home with the Jourdains. Before I had noticed it, Mr. Williams had withdrawn to another room, the room of the young ladies, and Mr. Childs and myself were left with Mr. and Mrs. Jourdain.

Mr. Jourdain called his son and told him to go across the River, and request Judge Porlier to look in as soon as convenient. This order scarcely attracted my attention, though I saw Mr. Childs noticed it curiously. The Judge very soon made his appearance, and desired to know wherefore he was called. To which Mr. Jourdain responded, "to perform a marriage ceremony." On this an-

nouncement, Mr. Childs regarded me with evident apprehension. He had not yet discovered that Williams was in the house. The Judge inquired if the contracts were drawn? No, they were not. He sent his son home for a form, and, when received, they were laid on a table near me, and he requested me to choose from the bundle, and draw the contract, supposing, that as I was a teacher, he wished to use me as his amanuensis. I was proceeding, when I found the forms were in the French language. I told him I was not sufficiently familiar with the French to copy it readily; he seized the pen himself and proceeded to draw the proper paper; turning to me he demanded my Christian name, the which Mr. Jourdain overhearing, he answered in French, *sotto voce*, it is not this gentleman, but Monsieur le ministre, dans l'autre chambre—in the other room. Mr. Childs did not hear this. The paper was soon ready, and the Judge summoned the parties to sign. Now stepped forth the Rev. Mr. Williams, leading the bride, Miss Madeline Jourdain. The look of astonishment on Mr. Childs' face may be imagined. The bridegroom and the bride signed the contract, we all witnessed it, and in three minutes Judge Porlier pronounced them man and wife.

This was not the first essay of Williams for a wife among the fair damsels of Green Bay; for a few days only before, he had laid himself, his fortunes and fame at the feet of one of the daughters of Louis Grignon, a young lady of great personal charms, good education in the French language, obtained at Montreal, and irreproachable manners and character. The lady, her father and friends, had a correct appreciation of the distinguished suitor; Miss Grignon, with grace, dignity, and in manner as inoffensive as possible, declined the alliance.

At an early hour I took Mr. Williams and his bride in the cariole to our lodgings at the old Agency; and had to surrender my room to the nearly married couple, and the next day dismiss my school indefinitely, the room being necessary for the bride—the second time my school was vacated by a wedding. I did not re-open it that spring, concluding next time to make sure of a room before commencing.

Of schools, there had been several in the place before mine; the first of which I had personal knowledge, was kept by a man named Holton, in the summer of 1822, in a small building a few rods above

the present residence of Hon. M. L. Martin, chiefly under the patronage of Louis Grignon, who erected the house, and who ever evinced a commendable desire for the education of the young persons of the settlement—his own children being in advance of most others. Holton having finished his engagement, left late in autumn for the Mississippi. There was a small school also kept about that time at Camp Smith, by a Captain Curtis, which closed in December of that year.

Of this Captain Curtis,* it may be remarked, that he was more a man of science, or what may be called genius, than of a military turn. He had been dismissed from the army, on what by some was considered hardly sufficient ground—of the merits of which the writer knows nothing. Before his dismissal, he had been charged with the oversight of a large fatigue party, for the purpose of procuring, or making lumber, to re-build Fort Howard. Considering himself authorized thereto, he attempted the construction of a Government saw-mill at the Little Kaukalin, ten miles up the Fox River. Here he attempted to dam the River; and, in fact, got a work across; but was ordered to other duty before the dam was finished and made secure. It is a fair presumption, that had he been permitted to finish the work according to his plan, it would have stood the flood—been a success, and the Government had a fine saw-mill at the Little Kaukalin. But because he was withdrawn, the work suspended, unfinished, it went out—was a failure, and Captain Curtis censured, court martialed, and dismissed the service.†

This trial of Captain Curtis to throw a dam across the Fox, was not the first that had been made. Many years before, Jacob Franks, one of the earliest settlers at the Bay, had thrown a dam entirely across at Rapide des Peres; this being the lowest point on the Fox where the rock causes a rapid. Mr. Franks' dam was washed out for much the same reason as Captain Curtis' was—for want of

*A brother-in-law of Major William Whistler, U. S. A., having married his sister.

†Daniel Curtis migrated early from one of the Eastern States to Detroit, where he taught school awhile; and was appointed ensign in the First Infantry, Jan. 3, 1812; and was stationed at Fort Wayne when besieged by the Indians in August and September, 1812, and, with the other officers, prevented Captain James Rhea, the commandant, from surrendering to the enemy. In December, 1812, he was appointed Second Lieutenant; First Lieutenant, April, 1814, and Adjutant of his regiment in that year. He was retained in the service, when the army was reduced, in May, 1815, and assigned to the Third Infantry; promoted to Captain, in Oct., 1820; transferred to the Second Infantry, in May, 1821, and dismissed from the service, Jan. 8, 1823—either by intrigue or jealousy, as generally believed by the people of Green Bay. He must have performed good service during the war of 1812-15, judging from his rapid promotions, and the fact that he was retained on peace establishment when so many were retired. He removed from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, where he died prior to 1830. The lady of Lieut. Gen. P. H. Sheridan is a grand-daughter of Captain Curtis—whose daughter, Irene, now Mrs. Col. Rucker, is Mrs. Sheridan's mother. L. C. D.

completion in time; but while that at the Little Kaukalin was taken out by the flood and high water in the spring, that at the Rapide des Peres was destroyed for the want of high water in the stream; that is, this dam was not swept down stream by pressure of water from above, but was carried up stream, by pressure of water from below. To explain: There is a diurnal rise and fall of the waters of Green Bay and Lower Fox every day of from eight inches to some feet—from whatever cause not well ascertained; but there are sudden risings of the head of the Bay and the River, whenever storms of wind occur from the north; and not unfrequently these storm-tides rise as high as four feet in a few hours. It was during one of these storm-tides that Mr. Franks' dam was raised, and carried up stream a mile—a portion of it at either bank only remaining, and this because the dam had not been finished and made tight, so as to hold the water to the height of the dam—some five feet—the weight of which head water on the dam would have secured it against the pressure of the storm-tide from below. Similar action of the waters destroyed the dam of the Depere Manufacturing Company—a like unfinished work, some forty years later. A piece of Mr. Franks' dam in the east bank at Rapides des Peres, some one hundred feet in length, was remaining in the fall of 1822.

But to return to the subject of schools. They may be of various sorts—not confined strictly to books. Teaching may be oral and traditional, as well as written; in this sense there had been schools, most effective ones, before those I have named. The stranger was struck with the good schooling the children as well as adults had acquired in relation to the formulas of religion; for there were very few who could not repeat more perfectly than those of the present day, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, and nearly the whole of their church catechism, besides the Psalms and portions of Scripture. How many of their priests had visited them, or how frequently, cannot be said; one is recollected, the venerable Father Badin. For several years this hard-working, zealous, self-denying missionary visited the Bay; the children—aye, those of years as well, were assembled, ranged on each side of the middle of the floor of the old log church, seated in ranks of ten to fifteen deep—the whole population were there. The old Father, having a space to walk up and down, would commence repeating, obliging them to repeat after him: this he would continue for a

half day at a time, and woe to the luckless wight who exhibited a want of respect or attention, or failed of committing his task. His visits were semi-annual, remaining for two weeks at a time. We would not at the present day commend this mode of teaching in preference to that now in vogue; but whoever took these simple people for barbarians—not knowing their duties to man and their Maker—would be mistaken. They certainly had received a kind of education, schooling, which was not entirely lost on them; and while their intellectual faculties were not greatly enlarged, the moral man certainly was much cultivated and improved; and this catechetical instruction by Father Badin, as far as it went, was in aid and preparatory to their more rapid advancement in letters, when the opportunity was furnished them.

The spring of 1823, Williams in pursuit of his object of establishing a mission school, &c., for the Indians and inhabitants of the Bay, commissioned me to repair to New York, to solicit funds. I was directed to see Bishop Hobart, ask his authority for calling on the church people of the city in that behalf. I obeyed instructions, the good Bishop receiving me kindly, making many inquiries about Mr. Williams, and giving me a letter to his people. The applications were not well responded to—no one knowing anything of Mr. Williams or his mission; the attempt was nearly a failure. I returned to Oneida and was requested by a party of the Oneidas, to take charge of them to the Bay, where I returned with the party in August.

This trip was made from Buffalo to Detroit in a steamer. From Detroit we took the same sail craft of the year before—the schooner *Superior*, Captain Gillett, master. Just as we were ready to embark, it was found Captain Gillett's health would not permit him to undertake the voyage, and the vessel was put in charge of a young man named Fleeheart—a good seaman, but unacquainted with the route, and still more so with the sea-going of this particular schooner. We arrived at Mackinaw with no incident worthy of remark; from thence our company was increased by Judge John P. Arndt and his family; his wife, three sons and two daughters. Besides the passengers, the vessel was heavily laden, having ten thousand feet of lumber on deck, for Judge Doty, who was preparing to build a house at Green Bay. Leaving Mackinaw at daylight, with a fine breeze, we got to the mouth of the Bay, just before dark; the wind

was westerly, and by this time increased almost to a gale; it drew directly out of the entrance. The captain attempted to beat in past Washington Island; the vessel worked heavily, missed stays and fell off. The effort was repeated two or three times, without success, and finally given up, and the vessel put away before the wind; darkness came on, and the wind rose to a severe gale.

Captain Fleeharty endeavored to lay her to, but she was so deeply laden that fears were entertained of her foundering. Orders were given for cutting the lashings of the lumber, which being done, every board went at once, leaving nothing on deck but a grindstone. The craft seemed greatly relieved, but still could not be laid to; and, to increase our apprehensions, it was found that the rudder had become unshipped, had risen out of the hangings, and was only held by the casing through the deck, and only prevented from dropping into the sea, by the tiller's going through the rudder's stern. The Superior was put before the wind, bearing away for the Manitou Islands; it was a night of peril and much anxiety. Daylight coming on, an attempt was made to ship the rudder, which being successful, greatly calmed our fears.

An hour after the vessel was rounded to under the Big Manitou, in Norton's Harbor, and we sang matins of jubilee and thanksgiving. The yawl-boat was lowered, and the passengers allowed to go on shore. We found a beach some hundreds of feet wide, and a precipitous sand bluff in the rear; but our adventures were not ended. While we were up the side of the bluff, sight seeing, one met our eyes thrilling enough; the sailor in charge of the yawl boat had forgotten to secure it, and it was seen half a quarter of a mile from shore, drifting before the wind directly out to sea. The sailor was young and resolute, and springing to the beach, plunged in, and swam for the boat; with what feelings did we view his progress. He reached the yawl, clambered in, and soon brought her to shore; and we remained a day and a night at Norton's Harbor, for the gale to blow out. This Island is apparently a mountain of sand; but closer inspection showed it to be based on a lime stone rock.

It appears to have been a great resort of the Indians, and I noticed there some of their works, which may explain the why and the wherefore of one class of those small mounds, often found throughout Wisconsin and the West generally. On the beach, a few rods from the shore, and parallel with it, and in a straight line,

was a string of mounds for nearly half a mile in extent. They were from sixty to seventy feet apart, and about three feet high. On each of them was stuck up two cedar sticks some six feet in height, and five feet apart, having notches from four feet above the ground upward to the top, and about six inches apart. On these standing sticks were placed slender rods of cedar, in these notches, in such manner that a slight touch would displace them from the notch, and let them fall to the ground. These fixtures were evidently for a game of athletes at jumping; the cross sticks being arranged to be raised up from notch and notch as the runner was able to go over without knocking them off the uprights. Their tracks were abundant proof of the game, at which it appeared they had been exercising, only a day or two before our visit.

The gale blew out at last, when we gladly re-embarked, re-crossed Lake Michigan to Washington, otherwise Louse Island, and this time entering Green Bay without difficulty, found ourselves the next morning in Fox River, opposite Fort Howard.

Mr. Williams had made no progress with his mission, but was going to commence vigorously in the fall; but the fall passed and winter set in, and yet nothing was done. Meantime the officers of the garrison, Colonel McNiel commanding, determined on establishing a post school. I was waited upon by the officers, and solicited to teach. Williams was consulted, said the church committee had provided no fund for his school, and advised me to accept overtures of the officers, which I did, and entered their service early in January, continuing till April of 1824, when I closed the school, and made another visit to New York. By this time the committee of the church had lost confidence in Mr. Williams, and I was notified that they had appointed the Rev. Norman Nash, of Philadelphia, superintendent of Green Bay mission, directing me to correspond with him as such; at the same time notifying me they had voted me a salary of three hundred dollars per annum, and sending me a commission as catechist, lay reader, and school master.

I was then at Oneida Castle, and learning that Rev. Mr. Nash was near there, and not doubting he was apprised of my position, I made him a visit, exhibited my credentials, and inquired when we should proceed to Green Bay. Mr. Nash received me coolly; did not understand by what authority the committee undertook to ap-

point him an assistant without consulting him. He finally put the matter kindly enough to say, that I should go on; that probably we could work together amicably.

Taking to myself a companion for life a few days after, I prepared for another journey to the West. Mr. Nash and myself and wife arrived at the Bay nearly the same time, late in August. Mr. Williams had vacated the old Agency house, and gone to New York and the Canadas. By my advice, Mr. Nash, after inquiry as to the rights of the property, and finding no one to object, concluded to take possession of the old Agency house, which he did, taking me with him. I looked now for immediate operations, but Mr. Nash seemed in no haste; the house needed extensive repairs, and to fit it for a school, would require an addition. The fine weather of all September and October passed, and nothing was done about repairs or the addition, Mr. Nash occupying himself in his studies and sundry amusements, portrait painting and boat building. It was soon apparent to me that the school would be late of organization—winter was approaching, and it would require one or two months to get the house in readiness for a school, all which I viewed with much discouragement, and some impatience. In addition to all which, the conviction was forced on my mind, that the views of myself and Mr. Nash, as to matters in general, and the organization and conducting a school in particular, were at such variance as to preclude harmony of action between us. This opinion seemed mutual, and soon led to propositions for separation, to which Mr. Nash seemed nothing loth.

The citizens had been in expectancy of the opening of the school, and expressed much impatience. A committee of those on the east side of the River, including the village of "Shanty Town," waited on me, and requested that as we had no conveniences at the old Agency, I would open a school on the east side. The difficulty was, I was to teach for the Episcopal Church. This was met by the citizens with the suggestion that I should make it a church school to all intents; that those of them who were able should pay; and that such as were not able should have their children entered free. They offered me their new school-house, rent free, and to be furnished with fuel. Mr. Nash made no objection, further than to say, that as the school would not be under his control, he would in no way consider himself responsible; that he would go on with his

school, at the old Agency, and that the people, by this encouragement would have two schools in place of one.

I closed with the citizens' offer, and opened a school in what was known as the Rouse school-house, standing on an eminence, just between the residence of Lewis Rouse, who had come to the Bay a year or two before, and Louis Grignon, before mentioned as the patron, to the extent of his means, of education for the young. This house had been put up chiefly through the efforts of Messrs. Grignon and Rouse, between their houses, both of whom had families of children. The commencement was made the first week in December; the school was largely attended; over eighty scholars were on the list, of which about one-half were considered paying, the others attending free. It met my most sanguine expectations, and was satisfactory to the patrons.

The church committee was immediately apprised of the movement, with the reasons therefor. I believe Mr. Nash's account of the affair differed in some respects from my own; however, I received no censure for the proceeding, and subsequent events induced the belief that it was fully approved by that committee.

Mr. Nash continued at the old Agency, opened a school, and had a few scholars from the west side; he also preached to the neighbors on Sundays. Early in the Spring, he left for New York, having closed the house, with all his, and the church's property left in an insecure state—the house being isolated, and at a considerable distance from others. I could not learn that he had left any one in charge; he had indeed told me of his intention to leave, but gave me no charge concerning his house or effects. He left in May; early in June word was brought me that Mr. Nash's house had been broken open, and the property was being stolen. Taking a trusty friend, Ebenezer Childs, a boat and party of men, I immediately repaired to the house, and found, true enough, it had been burglarized—how much of the property gone, we could not tell. Of the remaining we made a careful inventory, and removed it for safety, to the house of Lewis Rouse, sending Mr. Nash and the church committee each an account of the affair, with copies of the inventory of the goods. Not long after a letter was received from Mr. Nash, thanking us for the care of his property, intimating at the same time, uncertainty as to when he would return; in fact, he

had already come to a determination to resign his charge, and he did not return to the Bay.

My school was very prosperous. After Mr. Nash left, I began lay reading on Sundays at "Shanty Town," and organized an Episcopal Sunday-School at my school-room. Notwithstanding the absence of a minister, things began to assume a favorable aspect for the church, so much so, that in July, notice was given for the organization of an Episcopal Church. A meeting of citizens was called, and an organization had by the election of two wardens, and three vestrymen, for "Christ Church, Green Bay;" A. G. Ellis and J. D. Doty, Wardens; and Robert Irwin, Jr., John Lawe and Daniel Whitney, vestrymen. In the fall of that year, I learned that it was decided by the committee of the Church, to suspend operations with the Green Bay mission till a suitable superintendent could be engaged.

A change having occurred in the army officers and soldiers at Fort Howard, the new incumbents were taking measures to establish a larger post school. They had put up a building specially for it, and were looking for a teacher. I was applied to, while the citizens wished my school continued. A compromise was proposed, to-wit: That if I would take the post school, it should be opened for a limited number of citizens' children. As it would possess advantages superior to the citizens' school in point of a commodious building, books, apparatus, etc., the proposal was agreeable to the leading citizens, and I engaged in it accordingly. Some thirty of the citizens' children were admitted; the school had many advantages; books, stationery and furniture were provided by the council of administration; and discipline was supported by the commanding officer. The officer of the day visited the school every day at three o'clock; and, on Friday afternoon, General Brady* and his staff inspected, and hear recitations, all which had a beneficial influence.

In connection with some two or three of the officers, favorably disposed, and an equal number of ladies, a sunday school was organ-

*Gen. Hugh Brady, was a native of the Juniata Valley, opposite of Huntington, Penn., where he was born in July, 1768. He early went West, residing a while with his brother, Capt. Samuel Brady, the famous Indian fighter; served on the Upper Ohio against the Indians in 1791, and entered Wayne's army as an ensign in 1792, sharing in the battle of Fallen Timber. After peace with the Indians, he retired from the army; but re-entered it in 1812, as a Colonel and was distinguished in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara, in the latter of which he was wounded. He was made a Brigadier, with the brevet rank of Major General, and died at Detroit, April 15, 1851.

ized, which was kindly put under my supervision; regular religious services were also had on Sundays, alternating those of the Episcopal and Congregational churches. I taught this school for nearly two years, reporting regularly every six months to the church committee.

Mr. Williams had returned to the Bay, and preached a few times at the post school-house; he did not appear, however, to be recognized by the Church Committee. In 1826-7, I was advised by them, that they purpose re-commencing their mission, to make it permanent, and probably establish a large boarding-school for Indian children. I was requested to acquire all the information possible of the best manner of organizing and conducting such an establishment. Obtaining a two months' furlough, I visited New York; calling on my way, at Mackinaw, on Rev. Mr. Ferry, who was in charge of a large boarding-school at that place, for Indian children, under patronage of the American Board of Missions. Mr. Ferry received me courteously. I acquainted him with the object of my inquiries; that they were made in behalf of the Committee of the Episcopal Church, who designed establishing such a school at Green Bay. He candidly advised against it, and gave his reasons—informing me, that his school, which had been put in operation at great expense, had failed of the object sought, and that he had already received instructions to reduce it in numbers as fast as it could be done, and eventually discontinue it entirely; that with all their endeavors, they had been able to secure the entrance into it of comparatively very few Indian children; that the great proportion of their nearly two hundred attendants were children of Indian traders, who were reaping all the benefits of education from which the Indian children were being almost wholly excluded. I communicated this information to our Church Committee, and added my opinion. that from all I could learn, the attempt at Green Bay would be likely to be attended with corresponding results.

In 1827, I think it was, the main body of troops at Fort Howard were suddenly ordered to Jefferson Barracks; this at once closed my school. I received a pressing invitation to accompany them, with an assurance of a good salary, and a permanent situation. Regarding Green Bay as my home, I declined the offer, and engaged in other pursuits.

Judge Doty had procured an order from the General Land Office

for the immediate survey of three private land claims at the Grand Kaukalin, which had been confirmed through his influence; one to Augustin Grignon, and two to Dominique Ducharme. I was appointed United States Deputy Surveyor by Mr. Tiffin, Surveyor General, at Cincinnati, with special instructions for the survey of these three claims, which I executed accordingly. About the same time I surveyed the Williams' grant at Little Kaukalin; this, however, privately, not by order of the Government. These matters directed my attention to surveying the public lands, for which I purposed holding myself in readiness whenever they should be ordered, and in which I was largely engaged at a future day.

In 1828, I was notified by the Church Committee of the appointment of the Rev. Richard F. Cadle, as Superintendent of the Green Bay Mission, who arrived soon after, with his sister, Miss Sarah B. Cadle. I was invited to become his assistant. I had become so much engrossed with other affairs that I found it difficult to withdraw from them. I, however, consented to enter for a time—sufficient to aid him in the organization. He obtained possession of a building at "Shanty Town," known as the officers' quarters of the Camp Smith stockade. Though small and requiring many repairs, it sufficed for the commencement. The Rev. Mr. Cadle was a most earnest and faithful missionary. Notice was given in November of the opening of his school; for some weeks it numbered just one scholar. Mr. Cadle admonished us not to "despise the day of small things." The school gradually increased in numbers, and soon the entire confidence of the people was secured.

In course of the winter, the Church Committee, through the advice and kind offices of Robert Irwin, Jr., obtained possession of a vacant strip of land at "Shanty Town," about two and a quarter arpents wide, and running back one and one-fourth miles to Devil River; this strip had been claimed by Judge Porlier, but was not confirmed to him by United States Commissioners. Mr. Cadle was instructed to take possession, and to prepare for the erection of suitable buildings for a boarding-school of Indian children. He erected one good sized building for boarders; a school-house the following summer, and a second large building soon after. All his room was soon called for, the children coming in faster than they could be provided for; so that in about a year a half, there was the better part of two hundred enrolled and in attendance. These

children had nearly all to be boarded and clothed, as well as instructed; the expense account was immensely large, much more so than was anticipated, and the funds to meet it did not come as fast as required. Neither did the results meet expectations. But a small portion of the children were natives, nor could they be obtained—not more than a dozen of the whole answered that description. They were mostly half-breeds, and children of traders, many from a distance in the interior. Mr. Cadle, after nearly three years of almost insupportable labor, fatigue, and anxiety, gathered only disappointment and chagrin. His health and strength failing at last, he asked for a successor, and the Rev. E. D. Brown, of Michigan, was appointed to relieve him. Mr. Brown continued the school for some two years more, when for reasons similar to those named to me by Rev. Mr. Ferry, of Mackinaw, the establishment was reduced, and finally discontinued.

I have had acquaintance with many of the clergy; for faithful, conscientious discharge of every duty, for untiring labor, for sweetness of temper and, and all the graces that mark the gentleman and the true Christian, I have never yet found the superior of the Rev. Richard F. Cadle. After leaving the employ of the Church Committee, he labored in many places; for some two years at Navarino, a village adjoining, and since incorporated into Green Bay; for a year and a half at Duck Creek among the Oneidas; for a year at Fort Winnebago; for some time at Prairie du Chien; one winter as Chaplain to the Legislative Council at Madison, and in several other places in the Territory; always leaving behind him numerous loving friends, and the odor of a good name. He died at Esopus, New York, some years ago.

On my arrival at Green Bay, in September, 1822, the settlement was limited to a space of five miles on the Fox River, from Fort Howard to Rapide des Peres. The site of the mission of the Jesuit fathers was distinctly visible just at the Rapid, on the east side—the foundations of the stone chimneys remaining. The last house in the settlement on this side, going up the River, was about the eighth of a mile above, and belonged to John Dousman, or to his wife and children, he having died about that time.

There was a trail on either side of the River; that on the east side ending at the Rapide des Peres; that on the west side continued on to the Grand Kaukalin, where Mr. Augustin Grignon

was settled, and had quite comfortable buildings. There was not a cabin of any kind between Depere and Grignon's; and from thence to the Wisconsin Portage not a house, though Mr. Grignon built a couple of very small cabins two years after at "La Grande Butte des Morts." At the Wisconsin Portage were located a Mr. L'Ecu-
yer, and a Mr. Roy; both of whom were engaged in Indian trade, and in hauling boats and goods across the portage. There was not a settler, or sign of man's abode, except Indian lodges, at Appleton, Neenah or Oshkosh. There was a trail from Green Bay to Manitowoc, on Lake Michigan; and from thence, via. Sheboygan and Milwaukee to Chicago; but not a house or settler the whole distance, except that of Mr. Veaux, who had a trading post on the Menomonee branch of the Milwaukee River. At a still later date, Solomon Juneau located there. About the year 1826, Moses Swan and Isaac Hærtel, as companions in trade, made a voyage each spring and fall with a Mackinaw boat of goods, round from the Bay, via. the Port des Mort, to Manitowoc, Sheboygan and Milwaukee, trading with the Pottawatamies, which they continued till 1833.

At Green Bay there was a moderate stock of cattle for a settlement of its size, and quite a large one of horses, or rather ponies. The colts were allowed to run at large on the meadows till three years old; there were at least one hundred of them in 1822-3, and nearly one-half of them had "J. L." burned into the skin of their right shoulder, showing to whom they belonged—John Lawe. There was not a wagon in the settlement; and but a few carts, and these in the primitive style of the Canadian French, propelled by one horse—not by oxen or bulls. But there was a good supply of trains and carioles, for winter use; and it was during this season of the year that nearly all the hauling was done.

There was a large space of unoccupied ground above Fort Howard, on the west side, and also one opposite on the east side. These were the camping-grounds of the Indians, as they came in, for purposes of trade, which they did in large numbers every spring. Many of them, especially from the fishing-ground and Menomonee River, made the traders a visit at least once every winter; during holidays they were sure to appear. At this early day, game abounded in the forests, and wild fowl and fish in the waters. The fish remain; but the deer and the birds have mostly disappeared. At that time, and for many years after, fish of all kinds could be had

any day in the year, and at cheap rates. The bass ground was frequented every June, by the officers of the garrison, the citizens and Isaac Waltons of every grade and caste, not excepting the natives, and all brought away their canoes and skiffs loaded with the scaly prizes. There was no month in the year without its special "catch;" but the winter was the season for the great "catch," mostly by the Indians. The Peshtigo and Menomonee River Indian bands did little else the year round than work these fisheries—especially in the winter did they take trout and sturgeon in large quantities. The fish found their way into the ware-houses of the traders, where the citizens could, all day long, choose trout from the pile, for a sixpence apiece. Now they must pay the whites from Chicago and Indiana, who have engrossed the Green Bay fish trade, at least sixpence a pound.

On my first arrival in the country, I found at the Bay, of American citizens, the following persons: Robert Irwin, Jr., Daniel Whitney, Alexander J. Irwin, Samuel Irwin, Ebenezer Childs, William Dickinson, Mr Holton the schoolmaster, William Farnsworth, George Johnson, Mr Brown from Ohio, to which he returned with his family next year; Mr. Wheeler, Benjamin Smith, David Kelso, Moses Hardwick, Major Matthew Irwin, United States factor, A. G. Bean, these in 1822. Other Americans came in soon after—H. S. Baird, J. D. Doty, H. B. Brevoort, Indian Agent, Lewis Rouse, Linus Thompson, Charles Tullar, John P. Arndt and family, in 1824-5; and still later, John Y. Smith.

Of persons dismissed from the army, Captain Curtis, Lieutenant John McCarty,* and Lieutenant Morgan. The officers of the army, as near as is recollected in 1823, were, Colonel Pinkney, commanding; Captains Wm. Whistler, Browning, and Hunt; Lieutenants Dean, Loring, Cowan, J. W. Cotton, and Lowe: Majors Heron and Whiting,† sutlers to the post; Dr. Wheaton, surgeon, and Frank Wheaton, brother of the surgeon.

* McCarty had been more properly disbanded from the army at the peace of 1815. Taking an Indian woman for his wife, he lost caste among his army acquaintances; but he was always faithful to his chosen companion, and raised a respectable family of children. He early retired to a farm on the east side of Fox River, some twelve miles southwest of Green Bay, where he died some ten years since. L. C. D.

† James E. Heron had been Assistant Commissary of Purchases in the army from September, 1813, till disbanded, June 1, 1821; then sutler at Mackinaw, in August, 1821—subsequently serving in the same capacity, successively at Green Bay, Fort Leavenworth, and Fort Jesup, till April, 1843.

Henry Whiting, of New York, was commissioned Second Lieutenant of the Twenty-Third Infantry, May 1, 1812; First Lieutenant in June, 1813; wounded in the battle of Niagara, July 25, 1814; Captain in September, 1814; retained on re-arrangement of the army on peace establishment, May, 1815, as First Lieutenant of Second Infantry with brevet; disbanded June 1, 1821; sutler at Chicago the same year, and subsequently at Green Bay. L. C. D.

Of the French inhabitants, and Canadians, resident, the following were among the most prominent: John Lawe, Pierre Grignon, Augustin Grignon, Amable Grignon, Louis Grignon, Charles Grignon, Perrish Grignon, James Porlier, and Joseph Jourdain.

A descriptive character of all these would be tedious and perhaps unprofitable; they are nearly all passed away; the only Americans remaining are Captain Cotton,* Moses Hardwick, and Linus Thompson.

There were five brothers of the Grignons,—descendents of Sieur Charles de Langlade, a Frenchman of note, who had settled at the Bay at an early day, and who had died there a number of years before, leaving these five Grignon brothers, his grand children, heirs to his estate; he having owned or occupied all the River front on the east side, from the mouth of Devil River to the point at the old Astor Warehouse. Langlade had several houses, some of which remained in 1822, in one of which Pierre Antoine Grignon, the eldest of these brothers, was then living. It stood about ten rods above the building—then a new one—in which Judge Arndt so long lived, and where he died; and just above this house of Pierre A. Grignon was the cemetery—picketed in, and under control of the Catholics.

This Pierre A. Grignon, who had obtained the sobriquet of Fanfan—meaning dear child, or honey—and by which he was more generally known, was the eldest of the brothers; and at the time of our arrival, acted as “head of the family.” Mr. Williams soon made his acquaintance, and was well received by him, and invited to the hospitalities of his house. He had the manners of a courtier, was not wanting in intelligence, and was liberal, free-hearted and generous; of a tall commanding figure, and open and ingenuous countenance, he was calculated to command the respect and good will of a stranger. To Williams he was very attentive, and through his Indian retainers and hunters, he kept his table bountifully supplied with game—venison, fish, and fowl.

During the winter of 1823–23, we were notified of the illness of Mr. Grignon; and Williams was requested to visit him. On arriving at the house, we found him prostrated with lung-power, and a

* John W. Cotton, a native of Massachusetts, entered as a cadet at West Point in 1819: was appointed brevet Second Lieutenant in the Fifth Infantry July 1, 1823, and transferred to the Third Infantry the same year: promoted successively to a First Lieutenant in October 1827, and to the rank of Captain in November, 1836, resigning November 3, 1845. L. C. D.

bad cough. The surgeon of the garrison had prescribed for him without relief. Mr. Grignon sought Williams' visit in his character of a clergyman. Williams read prayers and offered the comforts of religion. His visits were repeated from time to time. He was, at length, found to be failing rapidly; when Williams offered the consolations of the church for the dying, reading in French and Latin from the Roman missal.* Mr. Grignon was sensible of the kindness, and wished to make Williams some reward; and demanded to know if there was not something he could do for him. Williams recollected there was an old saw mill near the old Agency house, on the little stream La Rivere Glaise, or Dutchman's creek, which had been built by Mr. Grignon. This stream had been sometimes called Reaume's creek; but the name had been dropped when I came to the Bay. Williams said if he would allow that mill to be repaired, he would like the use of it for a year, to make him a little lumber with which to build him a house. Mr. Grignon immediately summoned one of his retainers, a kind of confidential clerk, and charged him to take notice that he had given this minister, Mr. Williams, the possession of the saw mill at River Glaise, for him to use at his discretion, for one or two years; for which kindness, Mr. Williams expressed his thanks. This matter being arranged, Mr. Grignon seemed settled to a state of tranquillity and repose; and a few days after he died.† Mr. Williams assisted in consigning his remains to their last resting place in the cemetery. The impressions received were, that Fanfan Grignon was a good man, that he had died with trust in the Christian faith, and that the remaining brothers had sustained a heavy loss in his death. He had been the representative man of the family, and there was a question among them after his death, about which one of them should take his place. He left a son, Peter B. Grignon, who still survives. Judge Doty, on his arrival at the Bay, seemed disposed to invest this son with the authority and position of the father. On opening his court in 1824, he appointed Peter B. Grignon clerk, which position he filled for some years.

*Williams had received a New England Protestant education for a minister; but when he got to St. Regis, with his own people, he found the Roman Catholic missionaries there. They took him in hand to make him a Jesuit; he accepted their teaching, and they commissioned him as teacher, giving him a good church library, among which were all the prayer-books, missals, etc. But Williams never openly attempted to teach as a Catholic priest.

†Miss Ursula M. Grignon, of Green Bay, furnishes the date of his death—March 3, 1823.
L. C. D.

The remaining members of the family took charge of the estate: and the ensuing fall, they relieved Williams of any charge of the saw-mill. he having had cut at it during the spring, about twelve millions feet of boards.

Louis Grignon appeared to be the next in influence of the family, though the brother Augustin, who resided at Grand Kaukalin, may have been the elder, and, as afterwards appeared, from his intellectual powers, the better fitted for a leader. Amable had fixed his abode on the Wisconsin; Louis had established himself on a point on the east side of the River, about a mile and a half above the fort, where he had built himself a good house, and a ware-house at the River. He was of an inquiring disposition, liberal in his views, and fostered to the extent of his ability, educational endeavors for himself, his family and neighbors. It was through his instrumentality, assisted by Judge Lawe, that the first school-house was erected at the Bay; and subsequently the second one also, which was built near his house, aided by Lewis Rouse. These two served for many years as the only school-houses in the settlement, and at which most of the youth of that day commenced their acquisition of the English language; and for which they were indebted in a good degree, to the liberal views of Louis Grignon. On the advent of the American population at Green Bay, Mr. Grignon saw the importance of himself, his people and children, acquiring the English tongue; and he forthwith acted, by taking measures as far as possible to secure it.

When the courts came to be established, as was the United States District Court, under Judge Doty, in 1824, Mr. Grignon endeavored to make himself acquainted with English law and court proceedings, in which he succeeded to a good extent. He was chosen to several important civil trusts, as justice of the peace, coroner, etc., the duties of which he discharged with intelligence and credit. His efforts in the direction of education, secured it for his children, leaving them among the most worthy and intelligent of that class at the Bay.*

Augustin Grignon, living at Grand Kaukalin, was less at the Bay; and speaking but little English, though understanding and reading it quite well, my acquaintance with him was limited. About

* His death occurred, as stated by his daughter, Miss U. M. Grignon, August 14, 1839.
L. C. D.

the year 1830, he built and established himself at the Grand Butte des Morts, leaving his place at the Kaukalin to the care of his sons. His chief attention was given to Indian trade, although he opened a good farm at the Grand Butte, as he had previously done at the Kaukalin. His education in the mercantile line, at least that pertaining to the trade of the country, had been thorough; and he was noted for his penetration and excellent judgment, and for his suavity with all. The natives held him in the utmost reverence; in fact he was the only man in the trade who could ever cope in the least with John Lawe in influence with the Indians. Spending much of his time in the Indian country, and speaking but little of the English language, he had but slight connection with civil life, held few public offices; but he was regarded with much respect, as well by his own people, as the Americans and gentlemen of the army. He was always to be met at social gatherings of the higher order, an honored guest. Although not taking the same active measures with his brother Louis, in educational matters, he failed not to perceive their importance, and took good care to secure them to the fullest extent possible in the country, for his children.

Augustin Grignon was noted for his almost princely hospitality. No man, woman or child ever met a frown at his door, or went hungry away. His home was indeed one to the weary wayfarer; and we would invariably say, "only let us reach Augustin's before dark, and we shall be happy"—and so indeed we were. His house was often crowded at night with travelers to the great inconvenience of himself and family; but the cordial welcome, the bland smile and the bountiful good cheer, never failed, and all without fee or reward, except that rich one felt by every good man conscious of a generous action. His death occurred in 1860, at the good old age of eighty years.

Of all men of French origin at the Bay when I arrived there, Judge James Porlier stood foremost. He was known as Judge of Probate, to which office he had been appointed by Governor Cass; and it was understood that several places of trust had previously been conferred upon him by British authority, such as Justice of the Peace, Lieutenant in the militia, etc. Mr. Porlier was a man of education, in the enlarged sense, and the only one of all the Canadians, I believe, who could lay claim to that distinction, having been educated at Montreal. He was well born, of the French no-

bility, and received corresponding advantages in his youth. A very few moments in his company, assured you of the presence of a man of culture and fine taste. His possession of these qualities was acknowledged by all. On his appearance in the social circle—and none, either French or American, was considered complete without him—all mirth and impertinence subsided, and the company—the highest in it—deferred to, and awarded him the post of honor. He was very gentle in his manners; and, in conversation, remarkable for the purity and elegance of his language; and not less so, for the high moral tone of his sentiments. The respect awarded him by his French neighbors was universal and sincere. He commanded the same admiration from the American citizens, as well as the gentlemen of the army, all of whom tendered Judge Porlier every evidence of esteem and respect.

Not his superior intelligence and high bearing as a gentleman alone, gave him such hold on the affections of the people: but his goodness of heart, and readiness at all times, and under all circumstances, to do good to all, shone out, without effort, and seemingly without his knowing it himself. He was looked up to by his neighbors for counsel, and for assistance, not only in the common business of the settlement, but more especially in every case of difficulty, trouble or disagreement among men; and, it may be truly said, I believe, that his advice was very seldom indeed disregarded. For the thousand and one instances of perfecting bargains, drawing instruments of writing, &c., between men, resort was always had to Judge Porlier; and the records of business papers of that day, are mostly in his hand-writing; and save in a few rare exceptional cases, all these services were performed without fee, or expectation of reward. Then, too, the public imposed on him—always without his seeking, and contrary to his wishes—sundry official trusts, the duties of which he discharged with singular zeal and fidelity. These occupations consumed much time; yet amidst them all, he managed to administer his own affairs, with ability and success. He was suitably impressed with the importance of education, both for the public and himself; and which he did not fail to provide for his children, sending them to Montreal for its completion.

Judge Porlier maintained his enviable reputation through a long and busy life; he lived beloved by all, and died universally lamented, leaving the impress of his character, his polish and suavity in

particular, deeply engraven on the population of Green Bay. Distinguished Frenchmen, who have visited Green Bay, have remarked the purity with which the French language was spoken there, as compared with the Canadas; and this must, in a good degree, be credited to the teachings and manners of Judge Porlier.*

In all matters pertaining to trade and business in general, no man had influence at his time equal to John Lawe, and no man exercised it less offensively. When I arrived, he had been in the country nearly thirty years, having come out from Canada in his boyhood, with an uncle named Jacob Franks. This Mr. Franks engaged vigorously in business at the Bay for some years, but finally on the breaking out of the war of 1812,† concluded to return to Montreal, which he did, leaving Mr. Lawe his successor in business, and to whom he turned over his property, receiving from Lawe, however, a considerable amount of real estate in Montreal in exchange for the property at the Bay; in which transaction Franks had the lion's share. Lawe by this time had come to be nearly thirty years of age, and pretty thoroughly acquainted with the mysteries of the Indian trade.

There was always a sharp rivalry for this trade between Lawe and the Grignons; and, although Lawe, without any associate in business, had to compete with that family, all inter-married with the natives, yet he held his own, maintaining his equality, if not supremacy, to the last. He had the exclusive trade of the west shore of Green Bay, and thence to Lake Shawano and Wolf River. The Indians regarded him with paternal affection; no persuasion of any person whatever, could shake their confidence in, or alienate them from him. They took their credits in the fall for their hunts; and, in the spring, their peltries, game, sugar, whatever they accumulated, much or little, was faithfully brought in and laid at his feet. Nor must it be supposed that Lawe was capable of taking, or allowing his retainers to take advantage of the

*Porlier was a native of Montreal, where he was born in 1765. His first visit to Mackinaw was in 1783, as he related to Schoolcraft, and recorded by the latter in his *Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes*. In 1791, he permanently established himself at Green Bay, where he died July 12th, 1839, at the age of seventy-four years. L. C. D.

†July 23, 1805, Jacob Franks deeded to John Law a tract of about four hundred acres of land, which Mr. Franks first improved in 1792, situated on Devil River, about four miles from Fox River, and on which tract a saw and grist-mill were being built the time of the conveyance, in 1805. These facts may be found in the *American State Papers, Land Claims*, Vol. IV., 711, 712, 714; and may possibly indicate an earlier date of Mr. Franks leaving Green Bay than Mr. Grignon in his memoir, and Gen. Ellis, in this sketch, had supposed. L. C. D.

simplicity of these natives, in his exchange of wares; far from it. There has been great misapprehension of the manner of conducting Indian trade in this particular; it having been supposed that the traders took what they pleased, and kept no account with the natives. This in general is a great mistake—at least with traders of any character. As to Judge Lawe's practice, the Indians on taking his credit in the fall, high or low—each individual—had an account, *bona fide*, opened with him on his books, just as formal and precise in all respects as in case of the sharpest white man, in which he was debited his blanket, stroud, calico, powder, shot, thread, pipes, tobacco, and flints, as carefully as possible. And on his appearance in the spring with his peltries, he was duly credited with payment, not in the gross or by the lump, but every skin was counted, separating the prime from the poor—the otter, the mink, muskrats, fishers, bear, deer, etc., from each other, with exactness, with different prices, according to value, and the whole set down in detail, so that at the summing up, the Indian knew exactly how his account stood, and could judge for himself of the fairness or otherwise of the transaction. Other traders probably did the same; at least they professed to. But certain it is, that Judge Lawe enjoyed and retained to the end of his days, the entire confidence of his Indian customers.

The Indian trade, if it was profitable, had its drawbacks as well; especially was it so in Judge Lawe's case; for every winter, at least once, regularly, large numbers of the old, decrepid, and poor, among the Indians would come in. Their chief resort was to Lawe, and he had no escape from dealing out rations till they were comfortably fed. This was no small expense annually, and so much deducted from the profits.

If John Lawe's character for charity to the natives became a "by-word," it was scarcely less so as to the poor and destitute among the whites and half-breeds. Was there a wretched, sick, dying outcast, you would be sure to trace him, or her, or them, to their last refuge in the house of John Lawe; nor were they ever "sent empty away." It might have been the most unworthy, or one who had requited him always with only wrong and injury—it made no difference; in him they only found charity, forgiveness, and the tenderest succor. His house was known as the "house of refuge;" it was never empty. Visit it when you pleased, you would find some,

many or few, of the aged sons of want being taken in, fed and cared for, by this kind-hearted Indian trader. Nor did he let his "right hand know what his left hand did" in this behalf. No greater day of mourning and sorrow occurred to the destitute poor of Green Bay, than that in which John Lawe was carried to his last resting place, and his house, that house of refuge, closed.

It was not alone the natives or the poor of either class, who appreciated John Lawe; the well-to-do, and men of business, knew his worth as well. He was chosen to most important trusts; put forward in every public enterprise, consulted in every movement involving the prosperity of the settlement, and never failed of meeting public expectation, and rendering complete satisfaction to his constituents; and to the hour of his death, his first implacable enemy was never seen.

He sought to live in much retirement. To this end he had picketed in, with cedar posts, about nine feet in height, sharpened at the upper end, about five acres of choice ground, in the front of which stood his house and store, and in the back part of the enclosure was his office. This ground he had gardened in a very successful manner; his friends were often admitted there. Taking me one day into this enclosure, after viewing his garden, he asked me into his office, where I witnessed a piece of his clerical talent, with surprise and admiration. His clerk had been engaged some days making out quarterly returns to the Mackinaw Fur Company; he had become confused, perplexed, brought to a stand-still, not being able to make his accounts balance. He called the Judge's attention to the matter. The records were on foolscap, with four long columns of figures, each column footed. The Judge took one of them in hand, and commenced casting up the figures; in which he did what I had heard of as among the possibilities, but which I had hardly credited, and that was, to carry up the whole score of figures of the four columns, all at once; and that much faster than I could one of them alone. In the first footing he detected an error, and caused it to be corrected; and in ten minutes he had footed as many columns, detecting several errors, which, when corrected, made the balances all right.

I will give one more anecdote, illustrative of his endurance. In 1845, I made the annuity payment of the Menomonees, at Lake Poyagan, amounting to twenty-six thousand dollars in silver.

*17—His.

Lawe was on the ground collecting his credits, which were large. At the conclusion, on the second day, about eleven o'clock, he was sitting in his tent, on his wooden chest, containing between eight and nine thousand dollars, and was ordering his men to strike the tent and leave for Green Bay. He had a Mackinaw boat and four men with his equipage. He left Poyagan with a west wind, and under full sail, went down the Lake, Fox River, past Oshkosh into Lake Winnebago, and half way to Neenah before dark. He pursued the voyage through the night, which was a dark one, sitting on his chest of specie, running the rapids between the Little Butte and Depere before morning. It must have been a fearful ride, and, for one of his years, and fatigue—he had not slept for two days and nights—must have been one of great peril. I found him the next day at his house, calm as a summer cloud, not dreaming that he had done anything unusual, or worthy of remark.

On his first appearance at the Bay, his figure was quite slender,—he could span his waist with his hands. In middle life he was quite portly, weighed over three hundred pounds. He was strictly moral in his habits, chaste in conversation, abstemious in appetite; his example was worthy of imitation. He was a member of the English Episcopal church, though, since his death, some of his Catholic friends erroneously claim that he held their faith. He has left a name and fame which shall bloom perennial, so long as Green Bay shall be known, and the memory of her worthy founders be held in remembrance.*

Robert Irwin, Jr., was not only among the earliest of American settlers in Wisconsin, having located and commenced business at Green Bay in 1817, but was in public life, in one capacity or another, from that day on till his death in 1833.

He had the unreserved confidence of Governor Cass, who appointed him in 1820, a Justice of the peace for Brown county—at that time a most important trust—a position which he held for many years, and the duties of which he discharged with marked ability, and eminent satisfaction to the citizens of the country. Very soon after

*John Lawe was born in York, England, in 1780; his father having been a captain in the English army, and his mother a Jewess lady, a sister of Jacob Franks, a pioneer settler at Green Bay. Franks went there as early as 1792, as a clerk in the trading establishment of Ogilvie, Gillespie & Co., of Mackinaw, who had a store at the Bay; and, in the summer of 1797, Franks went to Canada and obtained a stock of goods, with which to commence trading on his own account at Green Bay, bringing out his young nephew, John Lawe, with him. Mr. Lawe became a successful clerk and trader, eventually succeeding his uncle, and served the people in many public capacities. He died at Green Bay, Feb. 11th, 1846, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.
L. C. D.

his arrival at the Bay, he received the appointment of postmaster, which position he held for a long period, with equal credit to himself and the appointing power. For several years after his settling at Green Bay, there were large military garrisons at Camp Smith and Fort Howard, the officers of which held Mr. Irwin in the highest esteem, ever extending to him entire confidence, and ranking him first among the citizens of the country.

A man of a plain English education only, he nevertheless exhibited extensive information on general subjects, and especially on our American system of government. He was a close student, reading much in works of jurisprudence; few of the legal profession even, read with equal care, or mastered the ethics of Blackstone as he did. Having the entire confidence of his neighbors, his advice was ever sought on questions of difference; and at that early day, before higher courts were established, he was made an umpire in all neighborhood contests, by which hundreds of questions were compromised through his advice. His decisions were always final—no one ever thought of appealing from them. Of most felicitous, engaging and courteous manners, every one was his friend; which gave him almost unbounded influence with men of all grades and parties.

Always mindful of the best interests of his new home in the land of his adoption, he was foremost in all public enterprises. The early history of Brown county is marked by his acts of public spirit, in the many projects for the improvement of the settlement—such as roads, schools, and religious instruction and institutions.

On the first organization of Michigan with a Legislative Council in 1823, he was chosen with one consent to represent the Upper District west of Lake Michigan, which he continued to do till he resigned his trust in 1830. When the Black Hawk war broke out in 1832, no little alarm was felt among the inhabitants of Brown county. Mr. Irwin was chiefly instrumental in organizing a volunteer company for defence of the country; and received a Captain's commission from Governor Cass. Other parties were ambitious of taking the lead, and going to the front in command of the company. These rivalries were likely to create heat, and perhaps division in the ranks; and Mr. Irwin, regarding harmony and good feeling paramount to his individual distinction, gracefully yielded the preference to others, and retired from the command.

As in the case just named, so in other departments of life, and especially those of a political nature, Mr. Irwin was not without rivals for public favor; in some cases, competition begat heated controversies, in all which he was remarkable for entire retention of good temper, fair, open dealing with his adversary, and never forgetting the high bearing and amenities of a gentleman.

Mr. Irwin was not only a good citizen, honored and esteemed by his neighbors; but he was, in the true sense of the word, a "good man," who lived in the daily exercise of christian charity and good works; and though not a member of any church, yet those who knew him best, regarded him as a true Christian, not only holding to, but practicing the Christian faith, with full intent, at no distant time, of bearing personal testimony to his belief, by an open profession before the world.

Honored with the appointment of Indian Agent, in 1833, he immediately repaired to the station at Fort Winnebago; and although in delicate health, proceeded at once with the highest enthusiasm, in an endeavor to soften the manners and meliorate the condition of what was then the fiercest of all our savage tribes, the Winnebagoes. Having a relapse of a severe illness of a few months previous, he declined rapidly. Though but a short time resident of that post, his engaging manners and natural sweetness of temper, brought around him many friends, who ministered to him in kindness, alleviating as far as possible his sufferings. He yielded his breath on the ninth of July, 1833. He died as he had lived, in love and charity with all, and an unfailing exercise of that faith which perceives "the silver lining behind the cloud," and recognizes a Divine Saviour of the world. He was summoned from his labors in the prime of his manhood, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. His widow, Mrs. Hannah Irwin, survives, living in good health, with her daughter, Mrs. Wm. Mitchell, at Green Bay.

The following obituary notice of Mr. Irwin, which appeared in the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, of December eleventh, 1833, was written by the Rev. Rich'd. F. Cadle, who had for several years, maintained close personal relations with him:

The subject of this sketch, Robert Irwin, Jr., was born at Greensburg,* Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, December twenty-fourth, 1797. During the late war, two thousand of the Pennsylvania Volunteers offered their services to the

* His widow, Mrs. Hannah Irwin, of Green Bay, states that he was born at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, before the removal of his parents to Greensburg. L. C. D.

President of the United States, who having been accepted proceeded to the frontier. Mr. Irwin, though then young, was one of this number. This devotion to his country was further shown by his association with those who volunteered to cross the Niagara River, and he was actually in the boat when the order to return was received.

In 1816 he removed to Detroit, and in the following year to Green Bay, where he engaged in mercantile business. While settled at that place, he was commissioned to act in numerous public capacities. He was a member of the first four Legislative Councils of the Territory; being one of the two members chosen to represent the Northern counties of Michigan, whose views and feelings he faithfully expressed, and whose interests he ever duly advocated. He spoke frequently on the various matters of private and public interest submitted to the body; and always with a full understanding of the subject, discussing their merits with unstudied ease of manner, and a ready selection of the most approved language. His resignation as a member of the Legislative Council was tendered to the Governor of Michigan, September twelfth, 1830, in consequence of the impracticability of leaving his business at the season of the year to which the Council stood adjourned. In the latter part of 1831, being at Washington, he was selected by the Secretary of War to aid in the negociation about to be commenced by Gov. Porter for the adjustment of difficulties between the Menomonee and New York Indians.

In September, 1832, he was attacked with bilious fever from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. During the following winter, he suffered continually from debility and general derangement of his system. Having received an appointment under the Indian Department at Fort Winnebago, he proceeded to that station in the latter part of June; and on the first of July, entered on the duties of the new office conferred upon him. On the next day he was visited with a disease with which he had been for several months more or less afflicted, and which, though he was sometimes encouraged with the hope of its being under the control of medicine, terminated fatally on the ninth of July, in his thirty-sixth year.

As a personal friend of Governor Cass, no ordinary judge of merit, we may well presume that Mr. Irwin possessed qualities entitling him to respect and regard. In domestic and private life, his character appeared to great advantage. He was uniformly cheerful, gentle, and unassuming among his friends; and the spirit which prompted the manifestation of those tempers, rendered his household purely a happy one.

Alexander J. Irwin, a brother of the preceding, was born at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, on the first of March, 1799. Early in the present century the family moved west, eventually locating at Detroit, where they resided several years. The father, Robert Irwin, Sen., was a master-builder of a high order for that day, having made draughts and superintended the erection of many first-class buidings at Detroit and other towns in that region.*

* Major Robert Irwin, Sr., was born in Ireland, and was brought to this country by his parents in 1774, when but three months old. He was reared to years of manhood in Baltimore, when he moved to Carlisle, Penn., where he married and continued to reside until sometime after the birth of his two eldest sons, Robert and Alexander. His next removal

Robert Irwin, Jr., eldest son of the family, came to Green Bay in 1820; the father, with the other members of the family, except Alexander, followed in the autumn of 1822, and Alexander the next year, 1823.

The two brothers, Robert and Alexander, went into a co-partnership in business at Shanty Town, where Robert at first located, and had built a comfortable dwelling, store, and other out-houses. A general variety store constituted their chief business. The elder brother, having been appointed postmaster and justice of the peace, was chiefly occupied with duties appertaining to those trusts, leaving almost the entire charge of the mercantile affairs in the hands of Alexander, who, then a young man about three and twenty, gave evidence of marked talent and capacity for the place.

At that day, there was not only the ordinary trade of a frontier town, but there being a large garrison of United States troops stationed at the Bay, quite an extensive business grew out of contracts let by the commissary's and quartermaster's departments of the garrison, for supplies of various kinds, transportation, etc., etc. These contracts were competed for by the citizen traders, the Irwins were generally the successful competitors, and Mons. Aleck, as he was called, was always regarded as the skillful manager in their firm. In this behalf, the Irwins, and especially Alexander, became favorably known to the commanding and other officers of the garrison, who reposed entire confidence in their integrity and fair dealing, and treated them with respect and esteem.

Alexander J. Irwin was always immersed in business. It seemed his natural element, as, "to the manor born," yet, of the most genial temper, and overflowing good humor, he always could find time for the most spirited amusements; and it is remarkable, that no one ever saw him with a lowering countenance, or a frown on his face. This overflowing good humor made him a favorite with all

was to Greensburg, in the western part of that State, On the breaking out of the war of 1812, he entered the service as a Lieutenant, and was made Adjutant of his regiment; he was appointed Assistant Commissary in May, 1813, serving until disbanded in June, 1821. His services, while connected with the army, were principally between Buffalo and Erie, and finally at Detroit, where he eventually removed his family, and between 1816 and 1821, while supplying clothing in the Commissary Department, he visited Green Bay several times, and removed there in 1822. During his earlier years there, he held a number of offices of honor and responsibility, and died at the residence of his youngest daughter, Mrs. E. W. Pollett, in July, 1851, aged seventy-seven years, his companion having some years previously preceded him to the grave. He out-lived his three sons; and of his four daughters, three still survive—Mrs. Wm. Dickinson, aged seventy; Mrs. J. V. Suydam, aged sixty-seven; and Mrs. E. W. Pollett, aged sixty-one; and also the widows of his two sons, Robert and Alexander J. Irwin, aged respectively seventy-four and sixty-seven years. They all live around the old homestead at Green Bay, among the oldest and worthiest American residents of Wisconsin.

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people, young and old; the former could never do without him—and no gathering, of which there were an abundance at that day in good old Green Bay, was at all complete without him. “Ah, ha! there comes Aleck; now we shall have some music.” No man could keep a room full of people, simple or gentle, young or old, in a roar of laughter, as long as he, and no one could do it as happily, without offending, or leaving a sting behind, equal to him.

About the year 1826, he married Miss Frances Smith, sister of Captain Smith of the army, a young lady of sense and good taste, who made him a most excellent wife; but the young people would by no means allow him, on this account, to withdraw from their circle; no, no, Mons. Aleck could not be spared. So both he and his wife continued with the young people; and I cannot say when they ever withdrew from those associations—I believe never.

Green Bay had a rather unenviable notoriety for its equivocal character as a place in which to rear young men: several have made shipwreck of person and morals. Mr. Irwin passed his youth there, growing to manhood and even old age, escaping these dangers, and coming out a good citizen, a fit exemplar for future generations. At an early time of life he admitted to his mind serious thoughts; and, after mature examination, accepted the creed, and became a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, serving for many years as a warden, and continuing an honored member to the day of his death.

Public confidence in him as a man is abundantly attested by the number and importance of public trusts conferred upon him in the later years of his life—as those of Clerk of the United States District Court; his election as member of the House, to the first Territorial Legislature of Wisconsin, in 1836, and the next year to a seat in the Council, which he continued to hold till 1843, when his private affairs induced him to resign it; his appointment, in 1845, by the President, as Receiver of the Green Bay Land Office, in the incumbency of which last, he died, June fourteenth, 1847. These several public trusts he filled with ability and fidelity; and, it is to be remarked, that in them all, the offices sought the man, rather than the man the office.

It is not claimed that he was perfect—without faults—as who can boast of that? yet he had the rare felicity of having but few failings; while his good points, his excellencies, were all the while

in the foreground—a blessing to his cotemporaries, and an honor to his name.

When such as he was, men or women, are removed from the busy scenes of life, a void is left in the social circle, not easily to be filled. It was pre-eminently so in his case at Green Bay. The *Advocate*, in noticing and lamenting his death at the time, well remarked: "It will be long ere his friends will recover from the loss, or our town from the blow which has been given to her buoyancy and happiness." A fine portrait of Mr. Irwin adorns the Pioneer Gallery of the State Historical Society.

N. G. Bean, located at the Bay at an early day—perhaps about 1817; here he spent the best years of his life, and died about 1830. His memory seems to be ignored by the historian. He was intemperate to such a degree as to lose caste and respect; wherefore he seems to be passed by. He had, however, with his one great fault, many good traits; and was too closely identified with public affairs in Green Bay to be forgotten. He was appointed a justice of the peace in 1823, in which office he continued till his death; during which time, about eight years, he decided more case than all the other magistrate put together. If I mistake not, he was a dismissed Lieutenant of the army; doubtless he considered himself unfortunate, probably injured; his temper became soured, and made him misanthropic, aggravated his propensity for the ardent, and helped to accelerate his downward career.* Of course he was reticent, unsociable, often to moroseness; yet men of business acknowledged the general correctness of his decisions, and awarded to him the most unbending integrity. It was often said, Bean drunk or sober, would do justice, though the heavens should fall. Some fault was found with the *locale* of his docket; which it was feared, would be lost, and the rights of parties go with it—it was kept in his *hat crown*. After all, no one ever sought in vain for a paper; it was always speedily produced from the safe receptacle—his hat.

In all his troubles and the neglect of the more fortunate, Bean found one good friend, Judge Lawe, saw his good points, extended to him his friendship, gave him an asylum, the freedom of his house,

*The Dictionary of the Army does not show that he was dismissed the service. Nicholas Gilman Bean, of New Hampshire, was appointed an ensign in the Twenty-first Infantry, Oct. 1, 1813; made a Second Lieutenant in 1814, and distinguished himself at Gaines' victory at Fort Erie, Aug. 15, 1814; was promoted to First Lieutenant the following month and disbanded, when the army was reduced in June 1815. He very likely followed the troops to Green Bay, perhaps originally connected with the sutler's department.

with a room, bed, and board, which he enjoyed in quiet and comfort to the day of his death. Had he been a little less sensitive, and received at the hands of his fellows kindness and fairness, he would doubtless have proved, not only a useful man—for he was that as it was; but an ornament to society, and enjoyed life equal to his peers. As it was, there were many worse men than N. G. Bean.

Ebenezer Childs, like Bean—they were great cronies—loved the flowing bowl; but; unlike Bean, he did not, would not, give way to misanthropy. He was determined to look on the bright side of things, and to enjoy life; and while deserving the frowns of society far more than Bean, he nevertheless would allow no man to dispise him, or treat him with neglect. With not a tithe of Bean's acquired or natural ability, he yet, by pure assurance, impudence and push, managed to make a figure in life; while for want of them, Bean, with real merit at bottom, but undisclosed, sank into obscurity. Childs pushed himself into undeserved positions of trust, honor and profit; was first sheriff of Brown county, coroner, then agent for heavy contractors, entrusted with large financial transactions; was elected to the Territorial Legislature; in short, ran a career of considerable popularity; and could he have shaken off the hydra that was devouring him, might have been one of our most honored pioneers. His last efforts were at La Crosse, where he amassed some property.

There was a mischievous pastime which he never could forego—that was, to have his joke. No matter what the consequence might be to himself, to friend or foe, he would never be cheated out of it. A case in point: In 1841-42, he had been elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the Legislative Council; and as part of his duties, had the police of the rooms, attendance on fires, etc. The Rev. Richard F. Cadle was chaplain of the Council that session, and was accustomed to hold service and preach in the Council Room on Sunday mornings. On one of these, as the people were assembling, Rev. Mr. Cadle in his seat, Major Rountree, a member of the Council, and a great respecter of religion—one of the gravest of the grave—came in, and was standing in front of the open fire-place—his hands spread out for warmth. Mischief was depicted on Childs' face. The Major had on his swallow-tailed coat, the corner of his large bandana peering out of the skirt pocket. Childs, under pretense of sweeping the hearth, stepped up behind Major Rountree, and,

unobserved by him, dropped a greasy pack of cards into his pocket on top of his handkerchief. Mr. Cadle's face blazed scarlet; and, in a moment or two, the Major put his hand to his bandana, drew it out of his packet, when the cards came fluttering down, spreading over the hearth. Childs rushed up in great surprise, gathered the cards, and swept them into the fire. The expression of Major Rountree's countenance, turned on Childs, was admonitory.

The following morning, as soon as the journal was read in the Council, Major Rountree, with the greatest coolness, offered a resolution dispensing with the further services of Mr. Ebenezer Childs, as Sergeant-at-Arms and fireman in the Council. Childs sprang to the side of a member, his friend, who whispered a word to Major Rountree, and the resolution was laid over till the next day; when this friend solicited for Childs leave to make an explanation. This was granted, the explanation consisting in a frank acknowledgment of his wrong doing, and humbly asking pardon of Major Rountree and of the Council; which, being granted, the resolution was indefinitely postponed.

Ebenezer Childs certainly had some good traits. No man could be more true to his friends, or more generous to the needy. He would disrobe himself of his last coat and give it to a freezing Indian, in the generous impulses of his heart. There is not a doubt but he gave away outright in objects of charity, to the destitute and suffering, more of his goods, money and property, than he consumed on himself. Had he possessed a liberal education, and escaped the fascination of the bowl, he might have been a bright ornament to our common nature: as he was, let us admire the better traits of his character, and throw the mantle of charity over his weaknesses—foibles, similar to which, many a greater intellect has succumbed, and gone out in darkness forever.*

Lieutenant Morgan, a native of Kentucky, had been dismissed from the army in 1821, and located in the country, attempting a livelihood by Indian trade. I learn very little of him except his

*Col. Childs' Recollections of Wisconsin, published in the fourth volume of the Society's Collections, show that he was born in Barre, Worcester Co., Mass., April 3d, 1797; and arrived at Green Bay, May 9th, 1820. He died at La Crosse, Wisconsin, December 15th, 1864.

In an obituary notice of him, the *La Crosse Democrat* said; Col. Childs had been a resident of Wisconsin over forty-four years, had surveyed a large portion of the eastern and northern part of the State many years ago; and had held Territorial and State offices, and filled them with credit and honor. Over thirteen years ago he came to La Crosse and settled, residing here ever since. He was a man of strong passions, generous, and always willing to help those in distress. For two years past he had been confined to his house, and most of the last year to his bed, at times brightening up, but generally unconscious.

L. C. D.

melancholy death. He was in person one of the finest appearing young men in the place—tall, well formed, graceful in motion, with a fine, open countenance, and every way engaging in manner. He had associated with him in trade a man named Webster. In January, 1824, Morgan and Webster had procured a pony and train—a sort of Canadian sled—for the purpose of making a trip to the fishing-grounds for a supply of provisions—trout and sturgeon. This was a very common practice, and ordinarily not thought to involve any difficulty or danger. It chanced that they set off about eleven o'clock in the morning, with moderate weather, but just as a north-east snow-storm was coming on, which when coming up the Bay, were frequently quite severe. By that time they had got out quite a distance into the open Bay; the storm had become heavy, and a strong wind had arisen. Soon they were unable to see land; there was no track, and they could only keep their course by observing that of the wind—comparing it with what it was when they set out. In this way they kept on till near night, when having lost their reckoning, they attempted to reach land.

After some hours, the snow becoming deep and their horse giving out, at midnight, they considered themselves lost. They stopped, detached the horse from the train, which they turned up to windward, and protected themselves as much as possible with their robes and blankets. Before morning, Morgan became speechless, and near four o'clock, died. Not long after, Webster was surprised to hear the notes of a drum and fife, playing the reville, and looking up, saw the sun just rising, and that they had stopped about two and a half miles from Fort Howard. Crawling out, and attempting to rise, he found his feet frozen; but with great exertion, he managed to clamber on to the horse, which he headed for the fort, where he arrived in half an hour. He was taken in and cared for, and a party dispatched for the body of Morgan, which they found frozen quite stiff. Thus perished young Morgan, who, though unfortunate in some respects, was yet a youth of much promise. His hard fate was deeply deplored by many friends.

Webster languished in the hospital, and it was clear that he must lose his feet. Dr. Walter V. Wheaton, the army surgeon, had named the day, some weeks ahead, when an amputation would be necessary. A sleighing party of ladies and gentlemen—officers and citizens—was projected for a ride to the Grand Kaukalin. Dr.

Wheaton made one of the party, and finding an agreeable host, Mr. Augustin Grignon, and abundance of good cheer, they overstayed their time a couple of days. Meanwhile Webster's frozen limbs refused to wait, but began to demand amputation or the sacrifice of the patient's life. The Doctor had a young brother, a kind of dare devil, about eighteen years of age, named Frank; he had assisted the Doctor somewhat in the hospital, and was reading the books. He had pluck, a good supply of brass, and was ready for any emergency. He saw Webster, and asked was he ready to lose his legs? Webster said, yes. Frank informed the commanding officer that Webster's feet must come off, or he would not live till morning. After a consultation with his subalterns, the Colonel told Frank if he felt sure of success, he might proceed. Choosing two assistants—he would have no more—he went with them into the ward, and prepared for the amputation. Just as he was ready to apply the knife, perceiving one of the assistants beginning to falter, he told him with severity if he flinched a hair, he would apply the knife to him. He took off the legs, took up the arteries, did up the job in good shape, and with excellent success. When his brother came home, Frank ran up to him and said, "Doc., when are you going to take off Webster's feet?" "Oh, yes," replied Wheaton, "I must see him immediately," and running up into the ward, the first thing that met his gaze was Webster's stumps, and Frank grinning over his shoulder. Webster attested the skill of the young surgeon; he soon recovered—not his feet, but his health, and walked on the stumps fifty years thereafter.

Colonel John McNeil, of the United States Army, was one of the men at the Bay in early times, that made a most favorable impression on my mind, and one whom it is not easy to forget. He succeeded, if I remember rightly, Colonel Pinkney in command of Fort Howard, in the autumn of 1823, and was himself relieved the next year by General Hugh Brady.

Colonel McNeil might, without a figure of speech, have been called one of "nature's noblemen"—six feet two inches in height, straight, compactly built, in most faultless proportions, he was one of the finest looking men and soldiers I ever looked upon. He had particularly distinguished himself in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara, in the latter of which he was severely wounded; his left knee was stiff in the joint ever after.

He arrived at the Bay, taking command at Fort Howard early in September. His advent at that garrison was a signal for reform. Whereas, it had previously been the practice of the officers to invent the most successful mode of passing away time uselessly, indulging most of the soldiers every day with passes, scouring the country in quest of game. Now all that was instantly reversed; all passes were forbidden, and rigid police enforced. The officers were given to understand that duty, military duty, was to be the rule and practice. The old cantonment received rigid examination for repairs, not only for defense, but for the comfort and convenience of the men and officers of the command. The young Lieutenants, who had been frolicking away their time, now, seeing that the eye of the Colonel portended business, concluded to accept the situation—to lay aside their games and dissipation, at least for a time, and give heed to the new order of things. •

Orders were given for selecting out, and reporting for extra duty, all carpenters, masons, painters, etc. The first examination made was of the old Hospital and its ward-rooms for the sick, which were forthwith renovated, and made almost anew. Then followed an equally rigid renewal and repair of the soldiers' barracks and company rooms, somewhat to the surprise of both officers and the men; and then came those of the officers, not omitting those of the poor washer-women, and the other followers of the army. The Colonel next gave his attention to providing a room for a school, and opening one for the reception of all the children of the garrison indiscriminately, officers, soldiers, and camp-women's children; and not only were all permitted to attend, but all were peremptorily ordered to do so.

Seeing these vigorous measures of improvement in progress, a citizen one day complimented the Colonel on these important changes. "Oh, yes sir," said the Colonel, "as a hard winter is at hand, and we are shut up here, cut off from the great world, it behooves me as the guardian of these people, to make them as comfortable as I can; and I hope to make them happy too, as well—at least as far as practicable in this distant wilderness country." After making suitable provision for fuel for the command for the winter, his next move was the providing of a room, to be devoted to social purposes, a kind of move "to make people happy," as he called it. He had a building erected specially for a mess-room—albeit the soldiers and

the officers were all snugly in winter quarters, and in no particular need of a mess-room; but the Colonel found use for it. It was about twenty-five feet by forty-five, with several adjuncts; and as soon as completed, it became known as the Assembly Rooms, and the young officers were invited to take charge of the social gatherings, which they were not slow to do.

Thus the command, by these repairs, additions and improvements being made comfortable for the winter which was now, the first of December, rapidly approaching, the Colonel ordered a respite from fatigue, and seemed disposed to enjoy life in the best manner possible at such an extreme out-post. Every indulgence, consistent with good order and discipline, was extended to the men; and everybody felt that Colonel McNeil was intent on their having good times. The poor soldiers, who had known only hard task-masters, looked on him as a deliverer sent to relieve them almost from purgatory. He was the soul of gallantry, and soon became the idol of the ladies; but made his special court to the little children of all ages, sects, and grades; never seeming weary of their presence or of studying for their good. Their comfort in quarters, and their progress in the school, engrossed his constant care.

The Assembly Rooms having been put in complete readiness, on his motion, they were filled, on the evening of the tenth of December, with a company for dancing, not only the officers' families, wives and daughters, but those of the citizens, were invited; the whole making a goodly company, of gay happy people, the Colonel himself being in attendance, and extending the rites of hospitality, especially to the citizens. Simple refreshments were furnished on these occasions. Having seen all well embarked in the evening's festivities, his absence was suddenly noted; when it was discovered that he was in the Hospital, carrying such comfort as was possible to poor sick languishing soldiers; and it may be remarked here, that generally while others were at their pleasures and pastimes, Colonel McNeil was often found looking after the poor and suffering of his command—it might be the sick in ward, or some dying camp-woman or poor child, in their humble quarters.

The Assembly Rooms were not used solely for these weekly festivities. The Colonel had been reared in a land of civilization and religion; and the Rev. Eleazer Williams, missionary of the Episcopal Church, was invited to occupy these rooms at his discretion.

on Sundays for religious services; accepting which, seats were prepared, and notice given, when the hall was filled to its capacity, first by the soldiers and officers in uniform, and then by such citizens as chose to attend; and thus a full congregation heard the word of truth from the missionary—and in this way the gospel was proclaimed, on Colonel McNeil's invitation, at his Assembly Rooms for the winter.

To banish all cause for dullness during his command, the Colonel further conceived the idea of private theatricals, which was heartily seconded by the young officers. The idea was acted upon at once; the prominent parts were filled by the young lieutenants. The first piece, "she stoops to conquer," was a grand success; the most marked characters were, Lieutenant Hunt,* both as Old Mr. Hardcastle and Mrs. Hardcastle; Frank Wheaton, as Tony Lumpkin; and Lieutenant Loring† as Miss. Hardcastle. Never were actors or actresses upon any board, more applauded.

The holidays now approaching, Colonel McNeil learned that the French inhabitants were accustomed to make much of Christmas as a high festival. He at once determined on doing his part in these "ends of the earth" in honoring the day. He issued invitations for a dinner at four o'clock, and a ball in the evening. A table was spread the length of the room, and plates laid for a hundred guests; the invitations extended to the whole population—French half-breeds and Americans—all were invited to share in the festivities, and enjoy the feast. The hall was well filled; the variety of costume would have engaged the study of an artist; belles and beaux, men and women, were attired in all the grades of dress, from the highest Parisian down to the buck-skin coat, pants, petticoat, and moccasins of the Aborigines. Yet as no one of the *elite* thought himself over-dressed, so, on the other hand, none of the citizens, French or half-breeds reproached themselves with the least want of etiquette, or of intended disrespect to their host, on account of costume.

It would be impossible to do justice to the courses of the dinner; suffice to say, that for variety or rarity of dishes, it equalled any of a similar occasion in more civilized climes. The dishes were

* Samuel W. Hunt, a cadet from 1814 to 1818; Second Lieutenant in the Third Infantry, in Feb. 1819, and First Lieutenant in Feb. 1822; died Sept. 11th 1829. L. C. D.

† Henry H. Loring, of Mass. a cadet in 1813, Second Lieutenant in July 1818, First Lieutenant, Oct. 1820, Captain in July, 1831, resigned in Oct. 1835. L. C. D.

largely made up of game. There was venison, bear meat, and porcupine; a dozen varieties of the feathered tribes from the waters, as geese and ducks; and of fishes, an almost endless list, headed by that king of all the fish tribe, the sturgeon. Nor did the guests fail to bring the best of sauce to the Colonel's entertainment—excellent appetites; and good nature, joined to the good cheer, made this rousing Christmas dinner one long to be remembered. This happy company rose from the table at six o'clock, and dancing commenced soon after. The revelry lasted to the "small hours," but all retired in good order, heartily blessing the kind generosity of Colonel McNeil.

Thus did this big-hearted man of war delight to transform this out-post of the Western wild, hitherto in its winters especially a place of desolation, solitude, ennui, and almost despair, to one of unalloyed happiness, animated life, and real pleasure. Thus passed a winter of true enjoyment, both to the soldiers and citizens of Green Bay in 1824, under the tutelage of the princely Colonel McNeil.

But the gaieties had to be suspended. The spring opened, when the commanding officer again called out the men and the officers for extra duty. The Inspector General was looked for in the opening of navigation, and Colonel McNeil was not the soldier to be caught in *dishabille* by that officer. Every nook and corner of the old cantonment was searched into; all rubbish carted off or consigned to the flames; everything thoroughly renovated and repaired; and the whole cantonment, even to the barns and out-houses, faithfully served with two coats of whitewash. Then the men were as thoroughly cleaned up, and put through every day, for two months, the necessary drills, marching, etc. Not a little complaint, from both officers and men, was heard at all this rigid preparation; but the propriety of all was seen and acknowledged when General Wool made his appearance in May, reviewed the troops, inspected the post throughout, and then openly, on parade, in presence of the whole command, gave his unqualified commendation, as one of the best ordered garrisons he had inspected for many years.

Colonel McNeil was relieved of this command by General Brady in course of this spring, and left Green Bay amid most sincere, heartfelt regrets of officers, men, and citizens. The same year he

was promoted to the rank of Brevet Brigadier General. About the year 1830, he resigned his place in the army and accepted a civil appointment in Boston. When General John McNeil left the army, the country lost the services of a gallant soldier, and a true-hearted, brave man, honored, esteemed, and loved by all who knew him.*

SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE GREEN BAY COUNTRY.—First, I will mention the wild rice—*zizania*. This grows at and near the mouths of all the streams falling into Green Bay. It is found where there is but little current, generally in from two to five feet water, and is biennial. The plant from the kernel that falls in autumn grows to the top of the water the following summer in June, and begins to elevate its fruit stem, the head forming about the first of July. It soon blossoms, and the first of September the grain is nearly matured. The beards are a foot long, and the head nearly the same, the kernel being from one and a half to three inches. As soon as the grain is formed, the Indians make preparations for gathering it. One mode is to go into this "standing corn" with their canoes, and taking as many stalks as they can compass with their hands, give them a twist and kink, and then turn the bunches downward, leaving them to ripen on the stalks. This gives the party twisting the bunches, a kind of pre-emption to so much of the rice, which before was all common. When gathered in this way into twisted bunches, the next step is to cut them off with a knife, and bring them out in their canoes to a place for shelling.

But they have a more summary method of gathering, and which is more generally practiced. It is on this wise, as the grain stands in the shallow water along the River banks in hundreds or thousands of acres, they push into it with their canoes; and these canoes, be it observed, are wide in the middle, and quite sharp at either end. Two persons go gathering, commonly women, one in either end of the canoe; they are provided with their implements—one having two smooth sticks, as thick as a man's finger, and three

* General McNeil was born at Hillsborough, N. H., in 1784; he was appointed a captain in the army in 1812, and promoted to the rank of Major in 1813. For "distinguished and gallant conduct in the conflict of Chippewa," July 5, 1814, he was made Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, and shortly after Brevet Colonel, for "gallant and distinguished conduct as commander of the Eleventh Infantry, on the 25th of July, 1814, in the battle of Niagara," in which he was severely wounded. He commanded at Mackinaw in 1816. In 1818 he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Brevet Brigadier General in 1824, and full Colonel in 1826. Having been appointed Surveyor of the Port of Boston by President Jackson in 1829, he resigned his position in the army, in April, 1830; and died at Washington City, February 23d, 1850, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. L. C. D.

and one-fourth feet long. This woman sits on the thwart in the extreme end of the canoe, facing backwards; while the one at the other end, and facing forwards, has a long, light, slender pole, provided with a fork at one end, to prevent its sinking too deep into the soft muddy bottom. Madam with the pole, forces the canoe slowly into the standing rice, which being parted by the canoe, stands in rows on each side. Now they lady at the forward end, with her sticks, draws, or bends, the heads of the rice over the edge into the canoe, and striking them smartly with the other stick, shells the grain into the vessel. Then repeating the operation, reversing the hands, she continues to draw in the rice, and thrash it off, till her end of the canoe, becoming loaded, begins to settle quite low. The women then change implements, but maintain their seats; the movement of the canoe is reversed—they operate as before, till the canoe is well loaded with the grain, when they push to the shore.

The rice has rather a tenacious hull, which has to be removed; it has to be dried before hulling, which latter process is thus accomplished: A hard dry piece of ground is selected, and a smooth dishing hole made to contain about a gallon; the rice is then tied up in a deer-skin, placed in the hole, and stamped upon with the feet till the hull is removed, which is separated and blown off by the wind. Its great abundance enables all to have a plentiful supply. It is used to thicken their broth of venison, bear, fish and fowl; it is very nutritious and palatable, and is furthermore an article of merchandise in the Indian trade. Cattle and horses are very fond of the green stalk, while growing, and wade in, even to swimming, to feed on it. The grain falls into the water soon after ripening, and sinks to the bottom; it is in these rice flats that the water fowl congregate in myriads in autumn to feed, by diving down for the grain at the bottom. This wild rice only grows in comparatively still waters, and in rich muddy bottoms. It is found in all the waters falling into Green Bay, the Fox and Wolf Rivers, and small Lakes. I know of it in none of the waters of the Wisconsin, except in a small lake, or expansion of the stream, on the Little Eau Claire.

HEALTH OF GREEN BAY—NATURAL CAUSES.—The head of Green Bay, near the mouth of the Fox River, is bordered with extensive marshes of reed-grass and rushes, giving the water a green tinge,

and it appears stagnant; and, at first view, would be supposed as a fitting place for generating malaria and disease. All strangers have concluded at once it must be a terribly sickly region, while the truth is, Green Bay is proverbially one of the healthiest localities on the globe.

Nature seems to have provided a remedy for stagnant waters bordering the ocean—the tides. From whatever cause it may be, tides exist here as well as in the ocean, and by their operation the waters at the head of this Bay, and the mouth of Fox River, are effectually changed as often as twice every day, and so stagnant water is precluded. The cause of these Green Bay and Fox River tides, has puzzled the curious. They may probably be referred to to the winds, and nothing else. Take a long canoe out of the water, stand it on an even keel on shore; fill it partly full of water; agitate it, and as it recedes from the middle to the ends, they being narrow, the water will immediately overflow, or rise higher there than at the center. Green Bay—an arm of Lake Michigan—is ninety miles long, forty-five at the mouth, and about two at the head, where Fox River enters it. The waters of this long Bay being agitated by the wind, will produce a rapid rise at the upper or narrow end, as in the case of the canoe. Need we seek any other cause for our Green Bay tides? Their beneficial effect on the waters and health of the locality, is just as perfect as though they proceeded from the moon.

Yet one more cause for the prevention of disease at Green Bay, may be noted. Everybody has heard of the Green Bay flies. They are not made in vain; all nature struggles for life, and to escape from death. In the height and heat of summer, the waters at the head of the Bay, bordering the great marshes, become coated with a green scum, the result of decaying vegetable matter, two inches in thickness. We should expect putridity from this, and all malaria and disease; but suddenly, however, old Dame Nature provides a remedy. This mass of green matter is assuming life. There appear in it myriads of a kind of sack, about one inch and a quarter in length; and watching these sacks of a warm sunny day, we perceive a living insect within struggling to escape. First the back protrudes, the sack is broken, and the body of the insect begins to rise; in a moment more a pair of wings are disclosed, next the afterpart of the body is drawn out, and last the head—wonderful

creation from the disgusting mass ! The insect with its wings, two inches long, and with its proboscides at the head, and likewise at the tail, the fly is some four inches in length. After sitting quietly for a moment in its old envelope, drying in the sun, and essaying its wings, it soon spreads them, and mounts into the air, and is carried away, in which ever direction the wind happens to set.

These flies all come out in from one to three days, about the last of August, and disappear as quickly as they came. On a warm day about noon, with the wind gently from the north, they rise from the water, and fly up Fox River, over the town such immense clouds as to darken the heavens. They repose very soon on the first tree, bush or building, found in their course, where they light, always on the leeward side, hanging one upon another like honey bees in swarming, ten or twenty deep; some of them continue till morning, but much the larger part chill to death during the night, and fall to the ground. They have been known to form such masses in front of buildings as to require removing with a shovel and wheel-barrow, yet no inconvenience arises from their presence.

Thus it will be seen how the Creator provides against the miasma arising from decaying vegetation, the immense mass of it, in this instance, is suddenly transformed in some mysterious manner, into life, rises out of the putrid refuse, and flies away.

The Fur Trade and Factory System at Green Bay 1816-21.

Matthew Irwin, Sr., was a native of Ireland, and settled in Philadelphia while quite young, where he was successful as a merchant, and took a prominent part in the Revolution, loaning money to the Government. He was appointed a commissary; and, early in September, 1777, quartermaster general of the State, serving in General Armstrong's division, then in the field. During 1778 and 1779, he was much engaged in fitting out privateers and ships to cripple the enemy's commerce and supplies; and was, in the latter year, appointed a navy agent for the State, and a commissioner for procuring salt for the public. In 1781, he was port warden of Philadelphia; and from 1785, he served for several years as recorder of deeds and master of rolls of Philadelphia, receiving, in 1787, the additional appointment of justice of the court of common pleas. At the close of 1788, he was declared a bankrupt, partly, at least, in consequence of surety debts. He married a sister of Thomas Mifflin, a General in the Revolutionary war, and afterwards Governor of Pennsylvania. His oldest son, Thomas, became United States district judge of Western Pennsylvania; while another son was a well-known merchant of Philadelphia.

His third son, Matthew Irwin, Jr., was born, reared, and educated in Philadelphia. He was United States factor at Chicago from 1810 to 1812; and in May, 1811, we find him giving notice to the Secretary of War of the machinations of the Shawanoe Prophet, then about to assemble the Indians on a branch of the Illinois River, portending no good to the country.* The subsequent declaration of war against Great Britain, put an end, for the time, to the factory system of supplying the Indians with goods; and, in May, 1813, Mr. Irwin was appointed assistant^t commissary of purchases in the army, serving till disbanded in June, 1815.

The Government Factory or trading-post was not established at Green Bay until a military post was located there in 1816, when Major Matthew Irwin was sent there as United States factor, with a large supply of Indian goods. So important do his reports appear, addressed to Colonel Thomas L. McKenney, superintendent of the Indian trade, as illustrating many of the details and difficulties attending that branch of the public service in Wisconsin, from 1816 to 1821, that no apology need be made for introducing Major Irwin's correspondence upon the subject.

It may be added, as an evidence of the worthy character Major Irwin bore, that he was commissioned by Governor Cass, on the organization of Brown county,

*More's Indian Report, p. 47; Niles' Register, II, 343.

in 1818, as its first chief justice and judge of probate, serving as such till he was succeeded by James Porlier in September, 1820.* Brown county at that time, embraced what now constitutes the eastern half of Wisconsin, extending west to the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, now Portage City.

After the failure of the factory system, as foreshadowed by Colonel McKenney's letter of July 5, 1821, Major Irwin returned with his family—for he had married, in 1816, Miss Nancy Walker, a most estimable lady, at Uniontown, Pennsylvania—to his native State, for the purpose of giving better educational advantages to his children. This removal took place late in 1821—so late, that no passage by vessel could be obtained over the lakes; and hence he passed up the Fox and down the Wisconsin, thence down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and by sea to Philadelphia. During his several years' residence at Green Bay, meats, fish, fowl and vegetables were so cheaply obtained, that he was enabled to save a very considerable amount from his salary, which he deposited with some bank in Philadelphia, whose subsequent failure reduced him to poverty. He finally settled at Uniontown, in Fayette county, in the western part of Pennsylvania, engaging in merchandizing, and serving many years as postmaster; and there he died, about 1845, from the effects of paralysis, at the age of well-nigh seventy-five years.

Major Irwin, as General Ellis remembers him, was of medium height—perhaps a little more—well proportioned, of pleasing deportment, and quite interesting and popular in his address. He left three sons and two daughters, all of whom, save the youngest, Mrs. Judge Hogan, of Quincy, California, have passed away. His eldest son, William, born in 1817, was the first white child of American parents born at Green Bay. He died some years ago, in Missouri. Another son, Colonel M. W. Irwin, was an editor of a paper at Uniontown, and subsequently of the *St. Louis Union*; and, in 1853, was appointed by President Pierce, marshal of Minnesota Territory, dying at St. Paul, November 23, 1858, at the age of thirty-eight years. Major Irwin's youngest son, Richard, was at one time a member of the California Legislature. It may be added, in conclusion, that the relationship between Major Matthew Irwin, and Robert and Alexander J. Irwin, was very remote.

L. C. D.

Major Irwin to Colonel McKenney.

GREEN BAY, *March 10, 1817.*

The opportunity of conveying this being immediate, leaves me but little time to state why so little business has been done at this Factory during the winter; and, without going into a detail of minor reasons, I believe the principal ones will be found to be these: 1st, the admission of many British traders, who have been accus-

* Hon. M. L. Martin states, that no records exist of any legal proceedings in either courts during the period of Judge Irwin's incumbency.

tomed to do business in this quarter, and who placed themselves in the most advantageous places for business within fifty, seventy, and one hundred miles of this; 2d, the hints given the Indians by these traders to follow them, lest the Americans might punish them for their recent bad conduct during the Late War; 3d, the practice (conducted secretly) of vending whisky; and 4th, the prejudices excited by the traders against our Factories.

I recognize among them many who were openly and highly instrumental in exciting the Indians of our Territory to rise in arms against us during the Late War. I think, if British traders are to be admitted to trade with Indians, regard should be had to their past, or, at least, a guarantee should be given for their future conduct.

The Indian agents * in this quarter, contrary to custom, exact fifty dollars from each private trader, British or American, for each annual license, which is considered as a perquisite of office, notwithstanding they are salary officers.

Colonel McKenney to Major Irwin.

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE, *May 28, 1817.*

SIR:—Your letters of the 10th of March are before me; one covering an inventory of goods, furs, and cash on hand, and debts due the Factory; the other, two sets of salary and subsistence accounts for the last quarter of 1816; also, your letter of advice to Zadock Walker, Esq., which I have transmitted by this day's mail.

You have not stated what goods were exchanged or sold for the debts, and furs, and cash; no out-goings being specified, except the goods sold Colonel Chambers, in whose bill there is an error of \$8; thirty yards of blue cloth at \$4 being entered \$1.12, instead of \$1.20. . . .

When you furnish goods to an Indian Agent for the use of the Indians, it would be proper to take a draft for the amount and remit it to this office. Two hundred and eighty-nine dollars and forty-four cents appear to have been furnished the Indian Agent, and no draft accompanied your invoice.

You state that two-hundred barrels of salt, a quantity of iron, brushes, turpentine, etc., were purchased by Major Wooley, at

* Major W. H. Puthuff, since dismissed.

Pittsburg, and there is no invoice of them. There has been no account rendered of a purchase of iron. Invoices of the other articles are enclosed. I must beg the favor of you to adhere, in all respects, to the forms required by this office, and which, if you have never had them, shall be sent you. Errors, no matter how small, cause delays and give trouble. I must request your particular attention to the subject of your quarterly accounts, not only to render them punctually, but also to have them faultless and errorless; as far so at least, as practicable.

I should like to hear of your prospects for trade; whether the Factory promises to increase in its operations. I am averse to a credit business, except so far as your letter of instructions warrants. I mention this to guard you. Great caution is required. Quick returns are all-essential to a vigorous prosecution of the trade; and I look for them from such establishment. If Factories are not well supported, it is evidence the Indians do not require them; and, it being a plan for their benefit, when they cease to require them, it becomes a duty to send the means of administering comforts amongst other tribes who need help. I hope you will do well at Green Bay. I feel the force of your remarks on British traders, and hope they will soon be expelled. I am aware of their pertinacious adherence to a system, which nothing but exertions, active and constant on your part, can check; and if they cannot be controlled, their influence can be lessened. Are there no means to detect those who sell whisky? If so, why not make examples of a few of them?

Such of the British traders as you recognize as having been hostile to us during the war, report to the Agent, and transmit me copies of your remonstrance, which I will take care, in case he should omit or forget to act, to hand in to the War Department. Specify in your statement that the Agent receives fifty dollars for issuing a license, and I will report upon it.

There is much risk in crediting goods to be carried amongst the Indians; the plan is a good one, if the risk were less. I have no objection to authorize you to send small parcels out to serve the Indians, never to amount to more than two thousand dollars, and this sum to be in sundry hands; not to repeat an advance to any one till the previous one is fully adjusted. But issue none except on security.

*Major Irwin to Colonel McKenney.*GREEN BAY, *September 29, 1817.*

I have more than once given you my opinion in relation to the state of this Factory, and what it might probably accomplish; and I recollect I stated that it could supply the wants of all the Indians comprised in this district. In compliance with this belief, I made corresponding arrangements, after the receipt of your letter of the 28th (a copy of which is enclosed, marked No. 18,) of May last. Several applications were made by American citizens to obtain merchandise for the purpose of supplying the wants of the Indians; and presuming it to be the intention of the Government to have the Indians supplied by them, I encouraged, after the receipt of your said letter, the applications of Lewis Rouse and Thomas P. James, who incurred considerable expense in making the preparatory arrangements for that purpose.

They had, too, an assurance from the Indian Agent here that he would not license British subjects to trade where they intended to establish themselves. Mr. Rouse was to supply the Indians at or near the Ouisconsin, and Mr. James those at Menomonie River, and intended to send a person to Winnebago Lake. A few days previous to their departure for those places, information was received that a number of British traders, licensed by the Indian Agent at Mackinac, were on their way to trade with the Indians at the places to which Mr. Rouse and Mr. James intended going; and a confirmation of it soon after, came in a letter from the Governor of Michigan Territory to the Indian Agent at Mackinac, informing him that he had received a letter from the Secretary of War, stating that Mr. John Jacob Astor had purchased the whole of the interest in the late Southwest Company, and wishing every facility to be given him in carrying on his trade with the Indians; in consequence of which, the Governor directed the said Agent to license all persons that the agent of Mr. Astor should name to him. Mr. Astor's agent is a Mr. Crooks,* a known and professed British subject, who named to the agent at Mackinac a number of persons, (all British subjects,) whom the Agent licensed. Several of them

* Ramsey Crooks, a native of Scotland, came early in life to America, was a fur trader in Wisconsin as early as 1806, and distinguished himself as a hardy and adventurous Rocky Mountain trader and explorer, as may be seen in Irving's *Astoria*. A fine portrait of Mr. Crooks adorns the gallery of the Wisconsin Historical Society, L. C. D.

came to this place for the purpose of trading with the Indians at the Ouisconsin, and other places.

This at once would have determined Mr. Rouse and Mr. James to abandon their undertaking; but they had engaged the necessary number of persons for the usual period, (six months,) and incurred other expenses. They, therefore, determined not to abandon their undertaking, although they feel persuaded it will eventually be a bad business, as they think they are not able to cope in business with old and experienced persons, personally acquainted with the Indians, etc.

Should they be correct, I fear it will be difficult to persuade other American citizens to undertake to supply the Indians in this quarter. Besides the British traders licensed to trade at the Ouisconsin, others were licensed by the Agent at Mackinac to trade at the Upper Mississippi and this place, at which, in the village alone, six are licensed; and all of them, with one exception, held commissions during the Late War, are influential with the Indians, and were named by me in my letter of the 24th of July last to the Indian Agent here, a copy of which I transmitted you.

The persons engaged by the American house of David Stone & Co. were British subjects; and they were, I understand, licensed by the Agent at Mackinac. Governor Clark last year directed the stoppage of British subjects entering the Mississippi; Governor Edwards requested the Agent at Chicago to prevent them from entering the Illinois. What reasons exist for allowing them to trade with the Indians in this quarter, I am at a loss to imagine.

It is well known it is not necessary to license British subjects to trade at Mackinac, as very little business is done there by the Indians; and if it were greater, the American storekeepers could attend to it. At Chicago, the Factory used to supply all the Indians in that quarter; and, it can be well established, that it is wholly unnecessary to license a single person at this place, for last year a British trader (Peter Grignon) supplied all the Indians at or near the Ouisconsin, and another (Peter Powell) those at Menomonie River; and the trade of this village was attended to by two or three British subjects, who, altogether, did not make twenty packs.

There appears a palpable incongruity in the manner of conducting the Indian trade; the factors are sent to supply the wants of

the Indians, and the Indian Agents can adopt such measures as to defeat all their plans to that end. It is very certain that the authority vested in them to issue licenses is well calculated to destroy all the benefits that might be expected from the Factories; particularly, too, when they interfere with each other's districts, as in the case with the Agent at Mackinac, who is in the constant practice of licensing persons to trade here and on the Mississippi. I can promise nothing from this Factory while these irregularities exist. It was not expected that Mr. Astor would engage to do business with the Indians with none but British subjects, and those, too, so exceptionable in every particular.

Considering, then, that the plans which I might adopt next year for supplying the Indians are liable to be frustrated by the impediments which seem to be put in the way of the prosperity of the Factory, and the consequent injury it would do to the individuals I might engage for that purpose, I must beg you to decline sending any more merchandise here, unless the Secretary of War can correct the irregularities which I have alluded to. The truth is, the Factories require to be well supported before they can be of any utility; one of the first measures to which should be, the prohibition to grant licenses where the Factory can supply the necessities of the Indians.

Major Irwin to Colonel McKenney.

GREEN BAY, *June 18, 1818.*

Your letter of the 6th of March requires that I should notice it in a particular manner, though I fear I shall not do justice to the subject. You say, from the refusal on the part of the Government to let foreigners into a participation of our trade, that you think I may calculate on success in future, and that you look to a revival of the trade. There can be nothing more certain than that, if foreigners were kept out of the country, a good business might be done here. It appears that the Government has been under an impression that the Southwest Company, of which Mr. John Jacob Astor is the head, is strictly an American company; and, in consequence, some privileges in relation to trade have been granted

to that Company, and of such a nature as to put it out of the power of any persons concerned in fur companies, who, if they consulted their interest, would, whilst the British possess influence over the Indians, employ none but British subjects. The circumstance I allude to is this; a short time previous to the declaration of war, Mr. Astor obtained from the then Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Gallatin) an order directing the Collector of the customs at Mackinac to suffer Mr. Astor to have his furs (which were at the British post St. Joseph's) landed at Mackinac. The agent employed on that business was a British subject. On his way to St. Joseph's, he communicated to the British at Malden that war had been, or would be, declared. The British made corresponding arrangements, and landed on the island of Mackinac with regulars, Canadians, and Indians, before the commanding officer there had notice that war had been declared. The same course was about to be pursued at Detroit, before the arrival of troops with General Hull, who, having been on the march there, frustrated it. The giving Mr. Astor the order to suffer his furs to be landed at, and shipped from, Mackinac, had, it was believed, for its object, to secure them from capture or detention, should they have been shipped from St. Joseph's after the declaration of war should be known. The Collector read the order in the presence of several persons. Mr. Astor's agent brought the furs to Mackinac *in company with the British troops*, and the whole transaction is well known at Mackinac and Detroit.

Major Irwin to Colonel McKenney.

GREEN BAY, *August 10, 1818.*

Seeing that the business of this Factory must, in some measure, be regulated by the various fluctuations which occur in the Indian trade, I reduced the prices of many of the goods on hand, particularly those first received, as I discovered that if I did not do it I should do little or no business, in consequence of a determination on the part of British traders to under sell the goods in the Factory. They put in practice a plan (suggested by Joseph Rolette) for preventing the factory from doing any business. It was this: each tra-

der to advance a piece of stronds, with the usual assortment of other articles, (termed by them an assorted piece of strond,) to be sold at first cost: and keeping a person employed to watch the arrival of the Indians, and take them to the house where those goods were kept. It proved as they desired—successful; and will account, in some measure, for the little business I have done with the Indians.

Major Irwin to Colonel McKenney.

GREEN BAY, *no date—but apparently 1819.*

The fact can be established, that, in almost every case, the persons engaged by Mr. Astor's principal agent, (Mr. Crooks, who is a British subject,) were known British subjects; many of them having held commissions under the British Government, and headed Indians during the Late War. For example: at this place Mr. Astor sent goods to the following persons last fall, to be traded alongside the Factory, viz: To John Lawe, Lewis Grignon, Augustin Grignon, and Peter Powell, British subjects, and holding commissions from the British Government, in the Indian department, during the Late War.

And the following persons were sent by Mr. Astor in the neighborhood of Mr. Rouse, whom I sent to do business with the Indians at the Ouisconsin, viz: Peter Grignon, Mr. Jacobs, Mr. Chaperaux, and J. B. Grignon, British subjects, belonging to this place, and holding commissions during the Late War from the British Government, in the Indian department.

And Mr. Lusienaux, a British subject, was sent by Mr. Astor to trade with the Indians at Winnebago Lake. At Menomonie River, where I sent Mr. Thomas P. James to trade, he was opposed by a Canadian sent by Mr. Astor; and, in an underhand manner, by Peter Powell, a British subject, who held a commission in the Indian department during the Late War.

It appears that the persons sent by Mr. Astor to other places to trade with Indians were British subjects: and, when it happened that the principal person having charge of the goods was culpable in his conduct during the Late War, in that case a discharged soldier was procured at Mackinac to accompany the goods, who would

affect to have the agency of them, whilst all the others, even the boat-men, were British subjects. Similar conduct has been observed by the house of David Stone & Co., at Mackinac; one of the partners of which (Michael Dousman) piloted the British armament to Mackinac during the Late War. Stone's house opposes that of Astor's in trade. Added to these irregularities, must be noticed the traffic carried on secretly in whisky at this place.

The Indians are frequently kept in a state of intoxication, giving their furs, etc., at great sacrifices for whisky. A return to reason will induce many of them to mention who sold them the whisky; but it is deemed illegal to accept Indian testimony, so that the British and American traders (of the latter several have arrived here) may deal in whisky without the smallest chance of detection. The agents of Mr. Astor hold out an idea that they will, ere long, be able to break down the Factories; and they menace the Indian Agents, and others who may interfere with them, with dismissal from office, through Mr. Astor. They say that a representation from Messrs Crooks and Stewart (Mr. Astor's agents) led to the dismissal of the Indian agent at Mackinac, and they also say that the Indian Agent here is to be dismissed. It appears that the commanding officer at Prairie du Chien undertook, at the instigation of the Indian Agent, to stop and send to St. Louis some of Mr. Astor's British trading subjects. For this act, it is said, the Agent will be dismissed from the public service; and we have now the novel spectacle before us of a British subject (Mr. Crooks) traveling to the Prairie, with a passport from Governor Cass, said to have been given by authority of the War Department, to inquire into the conduct of the Indian Agent and commanding officer.

Major Irwin to Colonel McKenney.

GREEN BAY, *February 15, 1820.*

Since the receipt of your letter of the 10th of September last, (which I acknowledged on the 1st of December,) nothing has been done by the Indian Agent to restrain the British traders residing in the village from having intercourse with the Indians in the way of trade. In fact, from the prejudices they have excited against

American traders, the Indian trade is confined to the British traders, who, from selling whisky privately, and from the ties of relationship, etc. with the Indians, will continue to enjoy it so long as the orders relative to the subject are unattended to by the Agent.

The Indian trade is virtually surrendered to those persons, and no efforts on my part can prevent it; the remedy must come from another quarter. The Indians are altogether led away by the British traders; and, whilst the American traders and officers are insulted by the Indians at a distance from the fort, those traders are cherished and caressed. The proof of which I will give you.

1st. Some time last summer, a boat loaded with goods, and owned by an American trader, (Mr. Armitinger,) was fired upon by some Indians near Winnebago Lake.

2d. Captain Whistler, of the army, wrote from Winnebago Lake that the Indians had fired upon his boat, while on his way to St. Louis in August last.

3d. Doctor Madison, of the army, informed his correspondent here, that some Indians plundered him at Winnebago Lake last fall.

4th. Lewis Grignon, James Porlier and son, and Augustus, (British subjects,) proceeded to the Ouisconsin last fall with their boats loaded with goods, without experiencing insult or obstruction. On the contrary, the Indians in that direction accompanied them for the purpose of hunting for them, during the fall, winter, and spring.

I am confident that nothing but an unqualified expulsion of those traders from this place, for the due observance of the orders received, will produce a favorable change in the minds of the Indians.

The village contains from forty-five to forty-eight families, who all profess to be the subjects of Britain, and from ten to twelve British traders rule them. This state of things has existed for many years, without any present prospect of alteration.

Major Irwin to Colonel McKenney.

GREEN BAY, *October 6, 1821.*

Mr. Kenzie, son to the Indian Sub-Agent at Chicago, and agent for the American Fur Company has been detected in selling large quantities of whisky to the Indians, at and near Milwaukie of Lake Michigan; in consequence of which, the Indian Agent at Chicago, directed him to close his concerns at Milwaukie in sixty days and then leave the place. Some Indians from that place represented to me that they would be badly off for a trader, should Mr. Kenzie leave them; in consequence of which, I engaged Mr. Vieau, a citizen of the United States, and a professed Indian trader, to repair there for the purpose of supplying the wants of the Indians. I have supplied him with \$2,228,25 worth of goods, and have agreed to allow him two hundred dollars from the time of his departure till his return next spring, with an allowance of some coarse clothing and subsistence. Two boatmen and two boys will receive, altogether, two hundred dollars, with some coarse clothing and subsistence. Mr. Vieau is well known here for his integrity, and possesses property enough here to cover the whole amount with which I have intrusted him.

Colonel McKenney to Major Irwin.

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE, *July 5, 1821.*

SIR: I have the honor respectfully to represent, that for three years last past the two Factories on the Lakes, one at Chicago, the other at Green Bay, have been in a measure useless to the Indians, and, in a pecuniary point of view, to the Government also. This state of things is owing entirely to the unsuitable provisions which exist for the regulation of the trade. Hordes of private adventurers, availing themselves of the looseness of the system, have crowded into those parts on account of the superiority of the furs which are taken there, and level all sorts of policy but their own, by the powerful agency which they derive from the free use of spirituous liquors as an article of their commerce; and after which the Indians, however afflicting they know the consequences to be, will go.

This view of the state of these two Factories should have been given thus formally before, had I not waited in the hope that Congress would have placed this trade under the guidance of suitable regulations, which, if done, would insure to the Government the harmony and attachment of these Lake Indians; and to the Indians all the consequences which the Government contemplated in the adoption of this just and humane branch of its policy. This hope, and the apprehension that a removal of the Factories (which, although they do but little in the way of trade, operate as a check to the traders,) might expose the Indians to oppression, seemed to authorize me in waiting for the final judgment of Congress in this matter. I am unable, however, on a review of this subject, to realize in the proceedings of the last Congress any additional disposition to place this item upon what I conceive its proper basis; and the continuation of the same inactivity which has hitherto characterized the business done at these two Factories promising to make inroads upon the fund allotted for the trade, I do not feel myself authorized further to delay a decision on the subject, and recommend it accordingly for the Executive approval; it is, to break up and discontinue the two Factories located at Chicago and Green Bay. In making this decision, however, I am led to it entirely from considerations growing out of the duty which my trust imposes on me, and which embraces an obligation binding on me to keep the capital from diminution, and not from considerations of *policy*. My opinion is, that an abandonment of these posts must tend to much excitement, and a corresponding alienation of feelings on the part of the Indians from the Government, as well as to bloodshed. This, however, is a part of the case at which I feel myself authorized but incidentally to glance.

I propose, on breaking up the trading-houses at Chicago and Green Bay, to unite the stocks, so far as they may furnish suitable materials, and follow the military post with a Factory to the St Peter's. The Government is not yet known in the exercise of its parental capacity in supplying the wants of the Indians in that region. In addition to the advantages which the Indians will derive from a Factory located at or near the military post, will be the active and abundant returns which will be received from it.

If this recommendation be approved, I will have to dispose of, at Chicago, the items enumerated in the inclosed invoice which are

unsuited to a trade at St. Peter's, and which, supposing they may be useful in the event of a treaty with any tribes of Indians in that region, I propose to turn over to the Indian Department at cost and charges, and pass the amount to the debit of the Indian Department account with this office.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THOMAS L. MCKENNEY,

Superintendent Indian Trade.

THE HON. SECRETARY OF WAR.

From the Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, who visited Green Bay in 1820, while making a tour among the Indian tribes in behalf of the Government:

"The following important facts and information, were very obligingly furnished, by Maj. Irwin, Indian Factor at Green Bay, in a written communication:

"In compliance with your request, I proceed to give you such information in relation to the Indian trade, at this place, as a period of nearly four years, has enabled me to become acquainted with. It must be observed, however, that my occupations are such, from being almost constantly engaged in the duties appertaining to the United States Factory, that this information may not be so explicit, nor possess so much detail, as you, sir, could wish; such as it is, however, I convey it with cheerfulness, knowing well that your assiduous researches here, will enable you to confirm its correctness, or to detect incorrectness.

"1st. With respect to any defects in the present system of Indian trade.

"The slightest observer could discover defects in the present manner of conducting the trade.

"The Indian Agents are not vested with authority to keep dishonest and unprincipled traders from entering the country, for the purpose of carrying on trade with the Indians. Hence the many impositions that are practiced upon the poor Indians, principally in selling whisky to them. In many instances, from the thirst for that article, and the want of knowledge, as to its value,

skins, worth from five to six dollars each, have been sold for a quart of whisky. Nor does the evil stop here; as it is known that the Indians sell their kettles, guns, clothing, horses, etc., for that article, the excessive use of which sometimes leading to the destruction of property, and the loss of lives.

"2d. As to the 'improvements' which might be made 'in the present system of Indian trade,' which would render the commercial intercourse 'with the Indians more conducive to the promotion of peace between them and us; and contribute more efficiently to improve their moral condition.

"I have always believed that authority should be given, for the purpose of allowing none but persons of *good character*, to carry on trade or intercourse with the Indians; and that no trader should be allowed to introduce whisky into the Indian country. To prevent which, rigorous inspection to be made necessary; and all violations of the established regulations, to be noticed and punished. A question would here present itself, in the attempt to prevent those violations, as to the propriety of allowing the testimony of Indians. At present it is believed, that it would not be lawful to receive it in any legal proceeding. Few Indian traders complain against each other; hence the difficulty of procuring sufficient testimony to detect their malpractices. Nevertheless intelligent, active and determined Agents, temperate in their habits, and friendly to the Indians, could do much in their favor; and probably prevent the existing abuses.

"The British traders have held the most intercourse with the Winnebagoes. This circumstance, with that of their receiving annually presents from Drummond's Island, will account for the preference given by the latter to the former.

"Three years since, about two hundred and fifty of the Sacs and Foxes passed through Green Bay for Drummond's Island, whence they returned, abundantly supplied with goods.*

"A short time before the execution of *Pontiac's* plan for taking all the British forts in the Indian country, the Menomonees being friendly to the British garrison, then at this place, acquainted the officer in command of *Pontiac's* plan, and advised him to put himself and those in his command under their protection, with an as-

* The Sacs and Foxes live on both sides of the Mississippi, west of Green Bay, more than six hundred miles from Drummond's Island.

surance of being conducted to Montreal. This was acceded to, and faithfully performed, notwithstanding Mackinaw had fallen into the hands of the Indians, and the attempt by the captors of that place, to molest and stop the Menomonees and the officer and his men. The garrison did not consist of more than from thirty to forty men. I have been well informed that this generous * act is the ground of a particular partiality, on the part of the British authorities in Canada, for the Menomonee tribe.

“This induces me to notice the practice of the Indian tribes in this quarter, of visiting Drummond’s Island. The object, on their part, is to obtain presents; and these they always receive, in sufficient quantity to induce them to visit that place every summer. The British Government, it is supposed, have their political views in making these presents; and when their generosity is combined with the refusal on the part of the American Government, to give like presents, the effect on the minds of the Indians cannot be doubtful.

“I do not wish to be understood, that it would be a proper measure, on the part of our Government, to be equally liberal as the British are in making presents to the Indians. On the contrary, I know that it does great injury to them, making them idle, and causing them to neglect the cultivation of the soil, the chase, etc., and leading them to intemperance, by frequent intercourse with immoral white people.

“The trade with the Indians in this quarter, is usually conducted at places on Fox, Ouisconsin, and Menomonee Rivers.

“The custom has been, and still exists, for traders to winter at those places. The amount of business done, varies according to the favorableness or unfavorableness of the seasons for hunting. Property to the amount of five thousand dollars, has been brought here, in one season, from Menomonee River. A company of British traders, usually do all, or nearly all, the business at those other places. Sometimes they have collected furs and skins to the amount of from eight to ten thousand dollars, during the winter and spring. The amount of business done in the settlement of Green Bay, may

* An instance of a like act occurred during the Last War, in leading an American from this place to Mackinaw, whose life was in danger. The Indian chief who performed this act is called *The Rubber*.

probably be about three thousand dollars annually. Whisky* forms a principal article in the traffic at those places.

“The United States Factory at this place, (Green Bay,) does very little business with the Indians, notwithstanding the goods it contains can be sold on better terms, than the private traders sell theirs. I am well acquainted with the cause of this, and will explain it. The British traders have used every effort to prevent the Indians from trading at the Factory; by representing the goods as being of American manufacture, of bad quality, and high in price; besides the Indians know that no whisky can be obtained at the Factory. In 1817, I sent an American citizen, (Mr. Rouse,) with goods from the Factory to trade with the Indians at the Ouisconsin River, and two others to Menomonee River. On their return, the spring following, they represented that they might have done a good deal of business, had not the British traders and their Agents at these settlements, used exertions to prevent the Indians from doing business with them; and advised those that had done business with them, not to pay for the goods they purchased on credit. Those gentlemen, in consequence, lost a good deal of money; and would not be willing to trade with the Indians again.

“The annual average of goods sold to the Indians, since the establishment of the Factory, does not amount to more than about sixteen hundred dollars. Those sold to the white people, and to the people of mixed blood, to about three thousand five hundred dollars annually; and to the Indian Agent five hundred dollars annually. For cash, and to Fort Howard, two thousand four hundred and fifty dollars annually.

“Under date of Dec. 5th, 1818, Mr. Varnum writes from Chicago to Major Irwin: ‘The indiscriminate admission of British subjects to trade with the Indians, is a matter of pretty general complaint, throughout this section of the country. There are five establishments now within the limits of this agency, headed by British subjects. These, with the large number of American traders, in every part of the country, will effectually check the progress of this Factory. I have hardly done a sufficiency of business this season to clear the wages of my interpreter.’”

* It is a practice with some traders, in order to deceive the Indians, to promise them a keg of whisky, as a present after closing the bargain; whereas the practice is, to make the Indians pay for this very whisky, in the goods they purchase.

“ GREEN BAY, *July 18th, 1820.*

“ REVEREND SIR:—In conformity with your verbal request yesterday evening, I will here state to you some of the facts in relation to the extraordinary diminution of the Indian trade, at the United States Factory at Chicago, which, by the factor there, is said to be owing to the introduction and sale of whisky, by private adventurers.

“ In one of his letters to me, about two years since, he stated that he had not done business enough with the Indians to pay the expense of his interpreter. In another, dated Chicago, 23d May last, he says, ‘The Indians have been induced to come here this season by the facility with which they are enabled to procure whisky.’ ‘In fact,’ he continues, ‘the commerce with them (the Indians) this season has been almost exclusively confined to that article.’ He adds, ‘I will venture to say, that out of two hundred barks * of sugar taken, not five have been purchased with any other commodity than whisky. I have not been able to procure a pound (of sugar) from the Indians, but can get a supply from the traders at ten cents a pound.’

“ Independent of the known veracity of Mr. Varnum, the fact that private traders could afford to sell sugar at ten cents a pound, is pretty conclusive evidence of the manner in which they obtain it.

“ The copy of an account current, a sketch of it which follows, will show the amount of business done, while I was factor there, from 1810 to 1812:

Amount of furs and peltries forwarded to the Superintendent of Indian trade June 30th, 1810, and invoiced at.....	\$2,972,56
Amount of drafts on the Secretary of War, in favor of the Superintendent of Indian trade in that year.....	1,740,01
Total amount of business done in 1810... ..	<u>4,712,57</u>
Amount of furs and peltries forwarded to the Superintendent of Indian trade, 25th, Sep. 1811.....	\$5,280,50
Amount of drafts on the Secretary of War, transmitted in favor of the Superintendent of Indian trade.....	775,39
Total amount of business done in 1811.....	<u>6,055,89</u>
Amount of furs and peltries forwarded to the Superintendent of Indian trade, 11th July, 1812.....	\$5,781,91

* Indian boxes to contain sugar, averaging about forty pounds each.

• Amount of drafts transmitted in favor of the Superintendent of Indian trade	\$500,67
Amount of articles sold for cash.....	515,48
Amount of business done in 1812.....	<u>6,798,06</u>

“ I am induced to believe that the business done in the Factory at Chicago, for the last two years, does not average two hundred dollars a year, in consequence of the whisky traders at that place.

“ The result must be, (unless it is checked in time,) that the Indians will be made a miserable set of beings; and the most of the rising generation will be cut off in the early part of their lives.

“ I am, with respect and regard, sir, your obedient servant,
“ M. IRVIN, *U. S. Factor.*

“ To DOCTOR J. MORSE, at Green Bay.”

The foregoing, it will be perceived, is a view, as far as it goes, of the affirmative side of the question, as to the policy of the Factory system of trade with Indians. I now present the other side:

“ An intelligent gentleman, who had just visited Chicago, informed me, (July, 1820,) that ‘ there were goods belonging to Government, at that place, to the value of \$20,000, which cost more at Georgetown, than the traders ask for their goods at the post of delivery; and that the goods are inferior in quality, and selected with less judgment, than those of the traders; that only twenty-five dollars worth of furs were sold by the factor at Chicago; that the Government make no profit on their capital; and pay the superintendents, factors, sub-factors, and their clerks, out of other funds.* ‘ The fact,’ he added, ‘ that the Government sell their goods at cost and carriage, and pay their own Agents; and that yet the Indians prefer dealing with the traders, is pretty conclusive evidence that the traders have not been exorbitant in the prices of their goods, nor have maltreated the Indians, who have had liberty to trade with one or the other, as they pleased.’ ‘ It is evident,’ he said, ‘ that by some means, the Indians had not confidence in the Government, as fair and upright in their trade.’

“ Nothing was said or intimated on this subject, by the gentle-

* It will be understood, that I am stating what was communicated to me by respectable gentlemen, as *facts*, and which fidelity to my Government obliges me to state. I hold not myself responsible for the *authenticity* of these facts, or for the justness of the opinions which I quote; but only for the *correctness* with which they were stated, and the *respectability* of the sources whence they have been derived.

man above alluded to, which, in the remotest degree, impeached the character or conduct of any of the factors. They appear, as far as I have acquaintance with, or knowledge of, them, to be upright men, and faithfully and intelligently to have discharged the duties of their office. This want of confidence in the Government on the part of the Indians, I have witnessed with solicitude in many other instances; and it has often been expressed by the Indians in my interviews with them. Whether this prejudice has arisen from foreign influence, exerted to answer particular purposes, or from that of the traders, as is alleged in the preceding communications; or has been occasioned by the manner in which their lands have been obtained from them by the Government; or by the inferiority in quality, and high prices of the goods, which have been offered them in barter, at the Government Factories, or delivered to them in payment of their annuities, as others confidently assert, is not for me to decide. It is my opinion, however, from all I could learn, that each of these causes has had more or less influence in creating and fixing this unhappy prejudice in their minds. And in devising the means for eradicating it, which, while it exists, will prove a formidable bar in the way of accomplishing the benevolent object of the Government, regard should be had to the removal of all these causes.' "

Edward D. Beouchard's Vindication.

In a sketch of several Green County pioneers, which appeared in the sixth volume of the Collections of the Historical Society, an unfortunate reflection was made on the character of Mr. Beouchard, one of the early settlers of Wisconsin, charging him with having burned the buildings, goods and tools of Major Wm. Deviese and John Dougherty, at the little trading-post of Exeter, on Sugar River—this apparently in revenge, on account of some disagreement with Dougherty.

It was added that Mr. Beouchard was a boastful, revengeful, worthless fellow; also that several of the facts related in Mr. Beouchard's narrative, as given in General Smith's History of Wisconsin, were disputed and contradicted, and Mr. Beouchard further spoken of very disrespectfully.

This sketch was written by Professor Albert Salisbury, and the charges were made on the authority and dictation of the venerable Major Wm. Deviese and Mr. French Lake, without perhaps properly reflecting on the severity of the assertions. Knowing that good, well-meaning men often differ in their opinions and judgments, the editor of the Society's Collections appended a note designed to interpose a kind word in defense of an aged and patriotic citizen, whose trustworthiness was, in the same connection, fully endorsed by Judge M. M. Cothren, Hon. Moses M. Strong, and the late Major Charles F. Legate, all of whom had lived neighbor to him more than a third of a century.

Mr. Beouchard, not satisfied with this brief general defense, has sent the Society the following statement, which is cheerfully given a place, not only in justice to this venerable pioneer, but because it contains some historical facts and details worthy of preservation.

L. C. D.

MR. BEOUCHIARD'S STATEMENT.

I presume an old pioneer, who has resided in Wisconsin for fifty-seven years, will not appeal in vain to the State Historical Society for space to set aright his own services, and to vindicate the truth of history.

I was born in Montreal, Canada, October the fourth, 1804, and left there in the spring of 1816, for the Selkirk Colony on Red River; went there in the canoes of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, and paid forty-five dollars for my passage. While there, I was employed by the Fur Company to go on business through the Cariboo Mountains to the Pacific coast. After many hardships and adventures, I returned to the Selkirk Settlement; and, in the fall of 1819, went to Prairie du Chien.

Dr. Moses Meeker, in his narrative, in the sixth volume of collections of the State Historical Society, has stated that Colonel James Johnson came to Galena in 1822. I desire to set this error aright. I was, in that year, at Prairie du Chien, running a keel-boat on the Mississippi for Jean Brunet and one Disbrow. Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was then stopping at Prairie du Chien—the same who had served at the battle of the Thames, and has since figured so prominently in public life. It was then that Old Buck, a Fox Indian, not a Winnebago, came to Prairie du Chien to sell some diggings he had on Fevre River, near Galena. Col. R. M. Johnson, in the fall of that year, hired the boat of the owners, Brunet and Disbrow; and they sent me down with him, in charge of the boat, to Fevre River; and I had orders that if Johnson bought the diggings of the Indian, Old Buck, and wanted some help to put up cabins, to remain and assist him in the matter. He bought the diggings, and I aided in putting up three houses in 1822. Johnson then started for Kentucky, and left at the diggings Thomas January, Amos Farrar, one Anderson, nick-named "Kentuck," myself, and two other Frenchmen, one of whom was named Trepanere and the other Barney. I sent back the boat and hands to Brunet; and by request of Johnson, and consent of Brunet, I staid there that winter. Johnson never returned; but in June, 1823, James Johnson, his brother, came with provisions, tools and several negroes.

Major Legate mentions that Colonel Johnson sent me with goods with which to buy old Buck's diggings. I only conveyed Col. R. M. Johnson from Prairie du Chien to Galena, with his goods, to buy them. I am certain that it is a mistake that anybody came to Galena in the fall of 1822 from Cincinnati; but a good many did come in the spring of 1823. During the winter of 1821-23, there were but the six of us there all winter, whom I have named.

After Colonel James Johnson's arrival, I quit working for the Johnsons, and engaged in the employ of A. P. Van Meter and David G. Bates, continuing with them until the spring of 1826, when I went to digging mineral on my own account. I, in company with eight others, went prospecting, and discovered the New Diggings, and did well there.

Sometime in August, 1828, in company with John Sweetslow and Major Adney as partners, I came from the mouth of Big Platte, to Sugar River diggings, at Exeter; my partners not liking the place, soon took their departure. About that time Mr. Deviese came there, and proposed to join me in digging mineral and trading with the Indians; and I accepted his offer, but he had no interest in the smelting business. We then sent to Galena for provisions and goods, and in the meanwhile put up cabins and went to work. The Indians troubled us a good deal. The Winnebago village of "Spotted Arm" was about eight miles north, and that of "White Breast" about twelve or fifteen miles south of our diggings, on Sugar River; each of which had about eight or ten Indian houses. Now Mr. Deviese knew very well that he could not stop there, had I not been there myself to keep the Indians off. It is well known that Mr. Deviese and I had three houses at Exeter, near to each other, with a garden spot; we built them as partners, and had an equal ownership in them. He says I burnt his place to spite a man by the name of Dougherty; now that man Dougherty had no property there at all, but he had a cabin about a mile and a half east of us; and I can prove in Mineral Point to this day, that had I felt disposed to do so, I could have cow-hided that Dougherty any time that I chose. Had I wanted to injure such a man, is it reasonable to suppose, that I would burn my own, and my partner's houses and property to spite him? On the contrary, from Mr. Deviese's own statement, is it not reasonable to conclude that the Indians burned them, during his absence, that summer of the war?

Mr. Deviese makes his statement as though I was not at Sugar River during all this early period. I was there, however, all the time, up to April, 1832, when I left. I did not sell or transfer my interest in the houses and improvements, because I intended to return, but the war soon breaking out, I did not go back until May, 1833. When I departed from Sugar River in April, 1832, there was not, according to my judgment, five thousand pounds of mineral at the diggings. From that time until May, 1833, the period during which the buildings and property at Exeter, on Sugar River, were burned, I state unequivocally that I was never nearer Sugar River than the Blue Mounds, Mineral Point, and Colonel Wm. S. Hamilton's, at Wiota; I did not, and could not, have burned them. Messrs. Deviese and Lake, have done me great wrong and injustice, to wait forty years, and then make such mis-statements. I never heard of these accusations until I saw them published in the Society's volume of Collections, and cannot imagine any reason why Major Deviese should do so, never having had any disagreement with him, and he having paid me a most friendly visit, and spent several days at my house in Mineral Point, long since the occurrence of these transactions. As to Mr. French Lake, it may be that he does it out of revenge; for when I commanded the Fort at the Blue Mounds, I was obliged several times to reprove him.

The battle of the Pecatonica occurred on the sixteenth of June, 1832. Mr. Deviese says that one man came up after the battle, "spoiling for a fight." He seems to refer to me, for I was the first who came. I had command of a party of friendly Winnebagoes on foot,* who, of course, could not travel as fast as Dodge's command on horseback, but I was not more than four hundred yards behind. When I got up to the battle ground I was ahead of my Indian party. Adjutant Woodbridge told me that he had shot one of the hostile Indians as he was rising the bank on the opposite side of the pond. By that time two or three of my Indians had overtaken me. I told them of the one Woodbridge had shot, when they went around the pond, found the dead Indian, and brought back his scalp. They also searched in the water, and found the remainder, eleven in all, securing also the guns and lances of the defeated enemy.

* Forty-nine in number, as stated by Mr. Beouchard in his narrative in Smith's History of Wisconsin.

Mr. Deviese says that Colonel Hamilton was absent from his station, Fort Hamilton, just after the fight was over, and the dead Indians and their guns and lances were found, Colonel Hamilton came up with his party of friendly Menomonees. My Winnebagoes now asked Colonel Hamilton's Indians to take some scalps; they said "no, the scalps don't belong to us, they belong to him,"—pointing to General Dodge; meaning that they, the Menomonees, were too proud to appropriate and display scalps from enemies whom they had not slain.

We then went to Colonel Hamilton's Fort at Wiota, and started home. When we arrived at the fort at Dodgeville, General Dodge ordered me to go to the Wisconsin River, and collect all the Winnebagoes that I could get to go with us to Rock River, after the Sacks and Foxes. On the twentieth of June, 1823, I was ready to start; I was then at the Blue Mounds. My horse being ready, and while taking leave of my friends, George Force, and a man by the name of Green, started to ride out. Presently we heard the firing of guns; I spoke and said that they were Indian guns. On looking in the direction of the gun reports, we saw Green running toward the fort, and a good many Indians after him. I threw the baggage off my horse, and started to meet him; but the Indians overtook him before he got half way to the fort. I saw a good many around him, perhaps fifteen or twenty. On reaching the fort, I told the people, and then started for General Dodge's at the Dodgeville fort, about half past eight in the morning. I reached there at ten o'clock, and gave the General intelligence of the presence and depredations of the Indians. I then returned to the Blue Mounds, and found that two men had gone after Thomas McCraney and his family, who were then living on their place between the Mounds and Peter's Grove, and I started after the body of Green, brought it into the fort, and we buried it the next day.

Previously, on the sixth of June, when Captain James Aubrey was killed, I started out from the fort by myself to get his body, and after I had gone a half mile or so, John Dalby and Jefferson Smith came after me on horse back, to assist me, and we got the Captain's body, and brought it in. I had, on that occasion, asked Lieutenant Force to go with me, to get Captain Aubrey's body, but he refused to go, and I told him if got killed, and was only six feet off, I would not go for his body. When Force and Green were

killed, on June twentieth, and I went and got Green's remains, and brought them to the fort, they asked me if I would hold spite against a dead man? I replied that I would do what I said, whether a man was dead or alive; and Lieutenant Force's body laid where it fell for four days.

While at General Dodge's, my orders about going to the Wisconsin, to collect Winnebagoes, were countermanded. Four days afterward, General Dodge and his troops came to the Blue Mounds Fort, buried Lieutenant Force; Colonel Gratiot being present at the burial. General Dodge told me that I would have to go with the army to pilot them to Rock River, and if need be, to act as interpreter. After preparation we started, and kept on until we got out of provisions; when we reached Fort Winnebago my horse got lame, and I was sent back as express to Dodge's Fort. I remained there until the battle of the Wisconsin, when I was ordered with a party of men to go to Helena to build rafts, on which to cross the army in pursuit of the fleeing enemy.

The next morning after we got there, one of the guards told me that my horse and others were in the field of Mrs. Green. I jumped up and ran into the field, the grass and everything was wet, and I got wet up to my neck; and by ten o'clock I was almost speechless. General Dodge sent me back to his fort, with some other men, who had lame horses, or were themselves unwell. I remained there until after the battle of Bad Ax. After the capture of Black Hawk, I had to go to Rock Island to make my return to the Commissioner, General Winfield Scott, of my agency at the Blue Mounds, and of the delivery to me, at the Mounds, of the captive Hall girls, by the Winnebagoes. When Captain James Aubrey was killed at the Blue Mounds, I, as Lieutenant, succeeded in command at the fort there. So soon as General Dodge came, he ordered an election for Captain, and I was beaten by one vote. Colonel Gratoit, Indian Agent, then appointed me his Sub-Agent, to look after and care for the Winnebagoes about the Mounds. On my return to the Blue Mounds, I was ordered to Fort Winnebago, to receive four Winnebago Indians, who had joined the Sauks during the war. I stayed there until they were brought to me, and I delivered them to Captain Plympton, commander at that place; and there I was discharged, November nineteenth, 1832.

Now, I do not want to speak of a man after he is dead; but, for

the sake of truth, I must say one thing about the rescue of the Hall girls, as given by John Messersmith in General W. R. Smith's History of Wisconsin. Had I seen the account before, I would have given it a notice. Mr. Messersmith says that an express came to the Blue Mounds, and they found that the dispatch with which he was charged was on public business, and they prevailed on me to open it, as perhaps it would be of benefit to us all.

In the first organization of the militia at the Blue Mounds, I was elected first Lieutenant; Messersmith, McCraney and some others did not like to be commanded, using a rough prefix to the word, by a "foreigner," and the same rude language was used at the election for Captain, after Aubrey's death.

Now I leave it to anybody that knows me, if I would go to men who were my enemies, for information or instruction. No, sir: it is well known that at that time the commander, in addition to his military duties, acted as postmaster; now this express arrived there after Captain Aubrey's death, and I, as Lieutenant, had succeeded to the command. There were present, Colonel Ebenezer Brigham, Esau Johnson, John C. Kellogg, and others of my friends, who supported me. Messersmith had no more to do with the letter or express than the man in the moon. On getting the letter, I spoke to Colonel Brigham and others of my friends, and by their advice opened and read it to the crowd; then sealed it up, and got a man by the name of Henry Starr to take it to General Dodge, who was requested to send it on to Colonel Gratiot; he did so, and Starr returned to the Blue Mounds.

An old settler, whom I do not now remember, has said that Colonel Hamilton went to Dubuque and got Menomonees and Sioux Indians to the number of five hundred for the Black Hawk war. This is a mistake, so far as Sioux are concerned, for the Sioux and Menomonees were always at war; when they met at Prairie du Chien, or at other places, they always attacked each other. I only saw Colonel Hamilton's Indians at the battle of the Peckatonica, and I think he had thirty or forty, possibly fifty or sixty, and all Menomonees; and my Winnebagoes were generally about fifty or sixty. But this seems to be the way in which history is too often written.

In May, 1833, I returned to my old diggings at Exeter. Mr. Deviese was not there. After cleaning up what mineral I had

there, I went to Dubuque and remained there until 1834, when I came to Mineral Point, where I have since resided. I was some time at Centerville, on Blue River, and some time at the New Diggings.

I have no knowledge of Grant who is said to have given name to Grant River, and since to the county of that name. Grant River was so called when I first came to Prairie du Chien in 1819.

I served as a private in Colonel James Collins' regiment of Illinois volunteers, from August, 1847, to July, 1848.

For forty-two years Mineral Point has been my home, and I am satisfied that none of my old neighbors, those who have known me longest and best, and for whose good opinion I care the most, will give any credence to unkind and unworthy reflections cast upon me. Those who know me best, I am sure, will acquit me of all such charges and insinuations as foreign to my character and nature.

MINERAL POINT, September, 1876.

Early Western Days.

BY HON. JOHN T. KINGSTON.

I have been requested to write up reminiscences of early Western life. Perhaps the most difficult history to write is a personal history. It is, in fact, only a story of individual life and experience, interspersed, more or less, with incidents relating to other persons with whom we may come in contact.

In complying with this request, my object will be to convey information rather than amusement. To give my readers an idea of the people in the Valley of the Mississippi in early pioneer days, with glimpses of the life, customs and character of the early settlers.

Of course, for all the early incidents I may relate, I am indebted to the narrations of the actors, at a later date. How vividly I can yet see and hear those "old rangers," when the "social glass" was general, not exceptional as now, sitting around the old-fashioned fire-place, the children occupying the corners, narrating over again their battles with the Indians, their scouts, hardships and amusements, and not until I would hear my mother say mother say, "It's time for children to be a-bed," would I make any note of time.

On January 2, 1778, Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia, issued instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers Clark, to raise seven companies, to consist of fifty men each, properly officered, with which to attack the British force in the Illinois country, and put a stop to their inciting Indian forays against the frontier settlements of Kentucky, Virginia and Pennsylvania.

In carrying out of this order, Colonel Clark changed the course of empire in the Western part of this Continent. And how great and vast the change! In that year, Clark wrested from the British Government, Kaskaskia and Cahokia, in Illinois; and early in the ensuing year, Vincennes, in Indiana; and with the fall of these

posts also fell, forever, the power and influence of the English nation in the Valley of the Mississippi.*

When the men who composed General Clark's expedition returned home, they carried with them glowing accounts of the soil, climate, and other great natural advantages of that part of the Northwest Territory, and quite a number commenced to make arrangements for removing thither the ensuing spring. Accordingly, early in the season of 1781, James Garrison, in company with James Moore, Robert Kidd, Shadrach Bond, and Larkin Rutherford, left with their families, intending to make the country they had helped to conquer their future home. They were subsequently joined by William Whiteside, Joseph Ogle, James Lemen, and others. These families were mostly from the neighborhood of Wheeling, Virginia, and all were accustomed to the dangers, privations and hardships of a frontier life. Reaching the country of their destination, they located on the bottom lands in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia, on the east side of the Mississippi, about thirty miles below the present location of St. Louis, and embraced within the limits of the present county of Monroe. From that settlement originated the name "American Bottom," which has since been applied to all the low lands bordering on the Mississippi river east of St. Louis. In the following year, 1782, Mary Garrison was born, being the first American child born in the territory embraced within the State of Illinois. She first married John Murdock, and after his death, William Pinkard; removed to Jerseyville, a few miles north of Alton, where she died in 1840.

But beside these great natural advantages which the new country possessed over the region which they had left, there was another cause which impelled these men to seek a home farther in the wilderness. That cause was slavery. They desired to live and raise their families where "the curse of slavery," as they termed it, would not follow them. They were of the Baptist faith, and to distinguish themselves from the main body of that church, which still held to the right of property in slaves, they called themselves Emancipation Baptists. True, they found slaves there, owned and

* Several years since, I learned from Lyman C. Draper, Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, that he was collecting papers and documents from which to write and publish a biography of Gen. Clark. When that biography shall be published, the people will read of one of the most remarkable military expeditions, and also one of the greatest, considering the forces and means used, and the results accomplished, that ever transpired on this Continent. They will also read, with sorrow, of the fading out of one of the greatest intellects that our country has ever produced.

held by the French settlers, who claimed the right to own slaves under the treaty between France and England, when the former Government surrendered their territory. When the French surrendered the country to the English, the latter Government guaranteed to the settlers all the rights in property, etc., which they had enjoyed; and when the United States conquered the country they indulged the French and other settlers for many years in holding their negro servants. But it was intended that the evil should spread no farther, and hence those who brought slaves with them liberated them on reaching their new location; this they could then do without the necessity of giving security for the good behavior and support of the negroes, which they were required to do by the laws of Virginia. But how near this hope of preventing the introduction of slavery came to being blasted, the sequel will show.

The usual Indian wars harrassed those early settlers, and during a period of fifteen years from the date of their settlement, they had to depend for safety mainly on the protection of forts or stations. Each head of a family had a small plat of ground contiguous to the fort for cultivation. During the first two or three years after the settlement was made, the Indians turned their attention mostly to stealing horses from the whites. Only an occasional murder was committed on some too venturesome man, but as the whites increased in numbers, by emigration from year to year, the Indians became alarmed, and commenced war in earnest. During the summer months, the whites sought the protection of the forts, and during the winter lived outside in their cabins.

At the time of the migration alluded to, there was quite a settlement of French on the "Bottom," principally in the neighborhood of Kaskaskia. These French settlers were almost unanimously hostile in their feelings to the Americans, and consequently took sides, secretly, with the Indians; and, although they did not manifest their feelings in any overt acts, yet by secreting and harboring the Indians, when necessary, and giving them at all times such information as came to their knowledge concerning the common enemy, they rendered a very important service to their Indian allies, and of course occasioned a corresponding injury to the other side. This state of things naturally brought about a feeling of distrust and enmity on the part of the American settlers towards the

French, or 'creoles,' as they were called, which many years of intercourse failed wholly to eradicate.

Many severe battles and skirmishes, of course, took place during those years between the whites and Indians, some of which I will take occasion to relate hereafter, showing the superiority of the backwoods-man over the Indian, when the two came in contact both in courage and strategy, and also, perhaps, in the noble quality of magnanimity, which latter quality, I must say, I have found to be of rare occurrence in the Indian character.

The battle of the Canteen, as the early settlers called it, took place about twelve miles above St. Louis, on the east side of the Mississippi river. The Indians engaged in that battle belonged to the Osage tribe, and it was the first and only war party belonging to that tribe that ever crossed the Mississippi to make war upon the whites; their object being to exterminate all the white settlements on the American Bottom, and themselves take possession of and settle in the country—and hence the whole band came, including women and children.

As already stated, the French inhabitants informed the Indians of all movements against them by their enemies which came to their knowledge, and of course the Indians reciprocated by informing their friends the French, of all their intended expeditions in their wars; and, in this instance, that information was the cause of their own destruction, which event happened as follows:

There was living in the French village at the time, a son of the Emerald Isle, by the name of Murphy. He had a considerable knowledge of the French language, and on this occasion heard some of the Inhabitants talking together about a certain war party of Indians who had recently crossed the river, and was enabled to ascertain the place of their encampment, numbers, object of the expedition, etc.; and becoming in this manner posted, he took advantage of the night to give the whites all the necessary information on the subject.

To accomplish this, however, with safety to himself, it was necessary for him to travel a distance of thirty miles to Whiteside's Station, and return before daylight the next morning. This, by the aid of a French pony, he was able to do. Whiteside and his men being thus put in possession of all the material facts. acted with their usual promptitude in the matter, and a considerable time

before the ensuing daybreak, a company of whites numbering sixty men, being, as was supposed, about equal to the number of Indian warriors, reached the ground of the Indian encampment. The Indians, they found, were all in one large wigwam, which was covered with rush mats, and was situated on a level plat of ground about ten acres in extent, through which ran the Canteen, a small stream of water near the southern border of Madison county, and which, at that point, entered the lowlands from the hills. This nook of ground was entirely clear of underbrush, but was covered by a considerable number of trees of large growth, and was surrounded on three sides by high bluffs. Whiteside divided his company into four equal parties, and so distributed them, as to surround the Indian encampment, with strict orders not to commence the attack, nor to make any alarm, until there should be sufficient daylight to enable them to see what they were doing, or until he should give the signal.

These positive orders, however, were very suddenly and unexpectedly broken. In the company of the whites was another son of the Emerald Isle, armed with an old musket. The squad to which he belonged was stationed behind a fallen tree. Just at the break of day, the Indian dogs ran out of the wigwam and commenced barking. In a few moments an Indian came out also, and after standing and looking around a short time, returned within. In a few minutes another Indian came out, and after standing at the entrance of the wigwam a moment, walked in the direction of the fallen tree just mentioned, and most unfortunately for himself, continued on until he came within a few feet of the muzzle of Paddy's musket, and then made a halt. Here, indeed, was a trying fix for the impulsive Irishman. The positive orders of his captain, that no alarm should be made until a signal, previously agreed upon, should be given, on the one side and his own impulsive nature on the other. His first thought was to obey orders, and his second was, as he expressed it "to blow the red devil into smithereens ;" and this last thought he promptly carried into execution.

The reader can possibly imagine, considering the early hour in the morning, location, and other attendant circumstances, the noise and confusion that followed the explosion of Paddy's musket. It is needless to say, that from that moment the battle commenced in true backwoods style, the whites sheltered behind trees and logs,

the Indians in the wigwam. 'This relative situation of the contending parties continued until a late hour in the morning—about eight or nine o'clock. Whiteside said to some of the men standing near him, "Boys, that wigwam must be uncovered!" Two men, one named Benjamin Ogle, the other name not remembered, immediately started on the run to put the order into execution. On reaching the wigwam, one man passed on either side, and taking hold of the covering at the bottom, threw the mats over and continued on in the same direction they started, each one taking a part of the covering with him, and this probably saved their lives by hiding their bodies from the Indians. Ogle was wounded* in the shoulder, but his companion escaped uninjured. The Indians being in this manner uncovered were exposed to a direct fire from all sides, and this quickly decided the contest.

All the Indian warriors were killed—about sixty in number. The whites had none killed, and only one, as above mentioned, wounded. The squaws and children, of whom there were a considerable number, remaining unhurt, were taken to the Mississippi, and recrossed to the west side of the river, and the report they carried back to the western tribes doubtless prevented a recurrence of hostile expeditions from that side of the river.

One fact connected with the transaction shows in an eminent degree the magnanimity of the "old rangers." For some time before the wigwam was uncovered, the Indians ran short of balls for their guns. To remedy this, a squaw came out to the fire a few feet from the entrance of the wigwam, with an infant in her arms, moulded the balls and passed them to those inside. And during the time she was so engaged, no injury was offered her.

During the latter part of the battle, the Indian chief had obtained the protection of a large tree which entirely concealed his body from the sight of his enemies. Each of the opposing captains had singled out the other, but neither could get a shot at his adversary. At length the Indian chief stepped from behind the tree, threw open his blanket and slapped his breast with his hand—a challenge

*The traditions have probably got the wounding of Benjamin Ogle mixed up with this battle, when it really occurred several years before. Rev. John M. Peck, who knew Benjamin Ogle well, in a statement which he submitted, prior, to 1833, to a meeting of some twenty of the aged pioneers of that region of Illinois, for correction, represents, that on the tenth of December, 1788, as James Garrison and Ogle were hauling hay from the American Bottom, they were attacked by two Indians, Ogle being shot in the shoulder, where the ball remained; Garrison sprang from the load, and escaped into the woods, while the horses taking fright carried the wounded man safe to the settlement.

which Samuel Whiteside well understood, and he too stepped forth. Then it was the quickest eye and steadiest nerve must win; both rifles "cracked" at the same instant; the Indian bounded nearly his full length from the ground, and fell dead, shot through the heart, and the ball from his rifle left a mark on the cheek of his white adversary, which was still plainly visible as late as 1832, and doubtless continued so until his death, which occurred a few years later.

Samuel Whiteside, afterwards a General, was but a child when his father emigrated to from Virginia to Illinois, but he grew to be a man of iron nerve, of medium stature, but of great physical endurance, brave to a fault, but unassuming, educated in all the wiles of Indian warfare, he became a terror to the savage enemy, but was correspondingly honored and beloved by the whites. His name may not, perhaps, appear often in history; still he was honored by the men of his time, and his name is still revered by their children, His name will appear frequently hereafter in these papers.

These details concerning the battle of Canteen, I had from David Everett, one of the participants. He was a candid truthful man; and was quite particular in giving the number of the respective parties, and the object of the Osage Indians. The last time I saw him was in 1842—then, of course, an aged man. In 1832, Gen. Samuel Whiteside had related to me much the same narrative concerning this engagement.*

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind," etc., will do to sing; but all else is pure imagination. The Indian worships the Evil Spirit much more zealously than he worships the Good Spirit. He has a great fear of the former, and but little faith in the latter. The Good Spirit may do him good, but has no power to save him from any misfortune which the Evil Spirit may wish to afflict him

* This battle of Canteen would seem seem to have taken place in 1795. Reynolds, in his *Pioneer History of Illinois*, states that in that year a Cahokia Frenchman informed Capt. William Whiteside of a camp of hostile Indians, when the Captain led out his followers, fourteen altogether—surrounded the Indian camp just before day—considerably more numerous than the whites; and killed the whole party save one, who escaped; but on returning to his people they killed him for his cowardice. Rev. J. M. Peck, another industrious gleaner of Illinois history, gives some account of this affair, first in the *Western Monthly Magazine*, for February, 1833, and subsequently in the *Annals of the West*, second edition pp. 705, stating that Capt. W. Whiteside and his son Uel were wounded. Capt. Whiteside the leader in this affair, died in 1815. The few details both Peck and Reynolds were able to give of this memorable contest, would suggest that they neglected to secure the proper history of it from the actors themselves; or else, having heard the particulars perhaps, had forgotten them when they had occasion to use them. I know Dr. Peck told me that that was the fact with reference to early events in Kentucky related to him by Daniel Boone and his companions, at a time when he had no thought of ever writing upon the subject, and thus many of the details became obliterated from his memory.

with; he, is, therefore, very particular to keep on good terms with the one, and accepts all the good from the other which may fall to his lot, without any particular idea of returning thanks.

So, too, the mourning for the "graves of his fathers," because he is driven from them by the whiteman, sounds very well and pathetic to those who are unacquainted with the natural habits and characteristics of the Indian; but it has but very little foundation in fact. The Indian—except, perhaps in some rare instances—cares but little about the "graves of his fathers," or for his fathers either; particularly when his "fathers" become old and feeble. Instances are neither rare nor uncommon when they have left the aged of the band to perish with hunger and cold, both men and women, without making an effort to save or relieve them.

Our school and story books contain numerous instances of magnanimity, honesty, wisdom, etc., displayed by the "noble red man." Cornstalk, Red Jacket, Tecumseh, and Black Hawk is each brought forward in his turn as a noble example of a noble race. Now, perhaps all these instances are true, and that our present Indians are the noble descendants of a noble race. But I have failed to see it. From an acquaintance, more or less intimate, with all the tribes who for the last fifty years have inhabited the territory within the limits of the five Northwestern States bordering upon the Mississippi River, I must say that my experience is just the reverse of all this. The Indian may be wise; but if so, it is only made known by his silence. He may possess feelings of mercy and compassion, but those feelings are only made manifest by a stoical indifference to human suffering, and so on through the whole list of noble attributes.

The Indian by nature is cruel, treacherous, and revengeful. He is a creature of impulse, outside of his daily routine of life; reason is rarely called into action, unless the cunning of the fox can be termed reason; a coward by nature, rarely attacking his equal in strength or numbers, without some great advantage in position or circumstances. He can endure fatigue, hunger, and exposure, because his manner of life leads to these results; but place him and the white man in the same circumstances, and the latter is his superior in every respect.

Compare the noblest instances extant of the American Indian with a like number of the early white settlers in the East, or the West, and what will be the result? Pass over a country inhabited

I care not for how many generations by the former, and all you will see to remind you of human habitation or improvement will be the narrow sinuous trail, the tree denuded of the bark, and the lodge-pole of the deserted habitation. The comparison need be followed no further.

During the few years of comparative quiet that followed after the first colony of Americans settled upon the American Bottom, a considerable accession was made to their numbers by emigration; a few from Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and some from across the Ocean, but the majority came from Virginia. Settlements were pushed out in different directions, and at considerable distances from the original settlement. Shawneetown, and some other settlements were made on the Ohio River. One colony, led by William Scott, located at Turkey Hill, six miles east of the present location of Belleville, St. Clair county. These latter were the first settlers who left the Bottom for the high lands. Whiteside went further north, and located not far from the present site of Edwardsville, Madison county. Another colony located on the headwaters of the Kaskaskia River, between Greenville and Vandalia, the first capital of Illinois. Another on Shoal Creek, south and west from the location last mentioned. Each of these different settlements constructed a fort or station as a means of safety, in case of need against the Indians.

During the first year or two after these several migrations were made, the people had to depend upon the parent settlement, on the Bottom, for corn and other needed supplies. On one of these journeyings made for that purpose by William Scott, he remarked that he was "going down into Egypt to buy corn;" hence the name Egypt, first applied to the American Bottom, but afterwards to the whole of Southern Illinois.

These early settlers were simple in their habits, frugal in their manner of living,—partly, perhaps, from necessity; had but little education, rather superstitious, and tolerably industrious, in their way—that is, they farmed a little, and hunted Indians and wild game the balance of the time. Buffalo, elk, deer, turkeys, honey, and wild horses were abundant for all their wants; and a few years after the first settlement, wild hogs were equally so. Corn bread and wild game, "hog and hominy," were their daily food. On Indian scouts, and other journeys of considerable length, parched

corn, sugar and salt were the only supplies carried; the rifle supplied the rest.

As late as the year 1833, in Central Illinois, a pound of lead or shot, a paper of pins or needles. would buy a venison ham or a wild turkey; and a yard of calico would buy a gallon of strained honey.

As stated formerly, these people were of the Baptist faith; and they took early means to procure preaching by one of their own denomination. Joseph Ogle was the first preacher who visited the colony. Four of the sons of James Lemen, one of the original settlers, also became preachers. The Methodist preachers soon followed. When the first preacher of this denomination was in Illinois is uncertain, but Jesse Walker, from Tennessee, was among the first. He extended his missionary labors also as far as St. Louis—at that time a Spanish settlement. He also preached the first sermon at Racine, in this State, in the spring of 1835.

These early preachers were generally illiterate men, but they were suited to the times and the intelligence of the people; they were earnest, zealous and energetic; neither cold, hunger, or danger could stop them in their task; they literally "took their lives in their hands;" traveled from station to station—often over the trackless prairies and forests—camped out when night overtook them, swam rivers and endured storms, "preaching the gospel, without money and without price."

At a much later period, preachers who had families were allowed two hundred dollars a year, and single men but fifty dollars. All sums paid to them over these amounts had to be accounted for to the Conference.

The Indians most contiguous to the white settlements, and who caused them the most trouble, were the Shawnees, Kickapoos, Sauks and Foxes, and the Pottawatamies. Occasionally war parties from more distant tribes would make sudden incursions for the purpose of plunder, but would as suddenly retire if they met with any serious opposition. Treaties were often made and as often broken. During these short intervals of "so called" peace, roving bands of Indians—outlaws as they were denominated—were continually committing murders and other depredations. A white man and Indian would meet on the road or trail, and the Indian in a very pleasant manner would hold out his hand with the salutation, "how-de-do, brother," the unsuspecting white man would take the proffered

hand and immediately find himself brained by the tomahawk, or stabbed to the heart with a knife in the disengaged hand of his "noble red brother." A few occurrences of this kind, and retaliation would follow by the whites, resulting again in a general war. The Shawnees and Kickapoos, being nearer the white settlements, suffered the most, and finally became almost extinct. The other tribes mentioned being more remote, suffered less.

The usual mode of travel for emigrants down the Ohio River, from Virginia, and other points at a considerable distance from the Illinois country, was by means of flat-boats, floated down the Ohio to the mouth of that river, and from there pulled by ropes, "cordelled" or pushed with poles up the Mississippi River to the place of debarkation.

During Indian times these boats were constructed for defense. The sides were high and thick, with port holes all around the sides and ends, but at such height as to be above the heads of the occupants when standing upon the floor, platforms being constructed along the sides, which answered for beds during the night, and seats during the day, and also for the occupants of the boat to stand upon when necessary to fire through the port-holes to repel an attack of the enemy. Horses, cattle and other domestic animals were carried on the boats, along with the owners and their families. During dark or stormy nights, the boats were anchored near the center of the river. Sometimes they were attacked by the Indians, but the experiment was soon found to be rather dangerous. In other instances strategy was resorted to; white men or women, prisoners in the hands of the Indians, were compelled to appear on the banks of the river, with stories of hardship, suffering, and escape from the savages, entreating to be taken on board, etc. If they succeeded in inducing the boat to land, the Indians, who were concealed close by, would make a rush for it, and a general butchery would follow.

During one of the intervals of peace mentioned before, two or three families embarked on a flat-boat at Wheeling and floated down the mouth of the Ohio, without any trouble or apprehension from the Indians. They encamped on the present location of Cairo, and neglecting the precaution of posting sentinels for the night, not one of them lived to see the morning. A band of outlaw In-

dians, taking advantage of the fancied security of the emigrants, made the usual night attack, and not a soul escaped alive.*

A young man by the name of John Murdock, belonging to one of the families mentioned, had preceded them a short time with another band of emigrants, and hence escaped the destruction of his family, being the only one left alive. This massacre occurred in the spring, and young Murdock did not know for some months the fate of his friends. At length, through the French on the "Bottom," the rumor came of the massacre at the mouth of the Ohio the spring previous; and through the usual boasting of the Indians, over some scene of horror and butchery, the identical band who committed the deed became known.

Young Murdock's own father and one step-father had been previously killed by the Indians, and in this last massacre a second step-father, his mother and four brothers and four sisters fell victims to Indian barbarity. His whole soul was bent on exterminating the band of Indians, seven in number, who had committed the deed. He tracked them during their hunting expeditions, over the prairie and through the forest. It was apparently a case of life and death on both sides. The Indians knew Murdock, and also knew his determination and purpose. Two of the band had already fallen before his rifle. They dared not separate—their only safety lay in keeping together. At length, early in the succeeding spring, Murdock was informed that the remaining Indians of that particular band were encamped upon a certain island on the Mississippi, a short distance below. He immediately collected five or six men for the purpose of making a final settlement of accounts with his enemies. Procuring a canoe, they floated down to the island upon which the Indians were encamped, and having succeeded in finding their canoe, they shoved it adrift and concealed their own on the other side, and then proceeded cautiously down the island in search of the enemy.

But the Indians, however, were not to caught at disadvantage, and discovered them about the same time they were discovered by the whites. A race now commenced for the head of the island, the Indians far out-running their pursuers, with the exception of

* Governor Reynolds, in his Pioneer History of Illinois, states that this massacre occurred while the party of emigrants were encamped under the bluff at the Grand Tower, on the Mississippi, in February, 1794, killing Mrs. Hough, the mother of John Murdock, one of her sons, and some others. The survivors escaped to their boat. L. C. D.

one only, and that one was no other than Murdock—their dreaded and hated enemy. He was close after them when they reached the place where they had concealed their canoe, but not finding it they plunged into the river, with the intention of swimming to the opposite bank.

Murdock immediately and alone, jumped into the other canoe, and started in pursuit, and not one of the Indians lived to reach the shore. This was vengeance indeed, full and complete. He had destroyed with his own hand the last Indian of the band that had murdered his father, mother, brother and sisters. He was the last of his family; all the rest had fallen by the rifle, tomahawk, and scalping-knife.

During the interval of peace, mentioned above, several families left the different forts or stations, and settled on places more or less remote. One man by the name of Wood, an uncle of Samuel Whiteside, settled on Wood River, a small stream that emptied into the Mississippi just below Alton. When the Indians again commenced war, they did so without any previous warning. In consequence of this, quite a number of families were killed before they could reach places of safety. Among these were Wood, his wife and seven children. They were shot, tomahawked, scalped, and thrown into the fire, and the house was consumed. But a short time elapsed before Whiteside heard of it. He immediately started in pursuit of the Indians, with eight or ten men. By means of blood-hounds, trained for the purpose, they followed the Indians—Pottawatamies—about one hundred and fifty miles north, and succeeding in killing eight Indians without any loss to themselves, only one Indian escaping. This remaining Indian was living in the vicinity of Ottawa, Illinois, during the Sauk war in 1832. When Whiteside was there at that time, he heard of him, and offered any one twenty-five dollars who would point the Indian out to him, but under the situation of affairs between the whites and Pottawatamies at that particular time, it was thought best not to do so. One thing, however, was noticed. That particular Indian did not appear in sight, in that vicinity, while Whiteside remained there.

Upon the declaration of war, by the United States against Great Britain in 1812, the latter Government immediately called to its aid their ever faithful ally, the Indians. Arms and ammunition were furn-

ished them; secret agents or runners, were sent all along the frontiers, and, as a farther inducement, the Indians were promised and paid a bounty of twenty dollars each for every white scalp brought in, putting the whites on the same level that our State places on the wolf, the lynx, etc. The result was, as might be expected, and as was intended, the whole frontier, from Detroit to the Mississippi River, and down to New Orleans, was in a blaze of war. This bounty was kept up and paid by the British Government until the Indians happened to think that the difference between a Canadian scalp and one from south of the Lakes could not be easily distinguished by the agents of the Government, and consequently they commenced scalping indiscriminately, both in Canada and the States. This turn in affairs by the Indians, brought an immediate change in the humanity view of the case, and the bounty was dispensed with.

When the United States troops took Malden, during the war, they found in one of the Government buildings, securely packed away, hundreds of human scalps, nicely dressed and put up in packages of twenty each, and artistically ornamented with various colored ribbons. The writer of this, when a boy, saw a package of these scalps brought away by a soldier by the name of Myers. The scalps were from the soft silky hair of the infant to the gray and white hair of the aged man and woman.

As a farther encouragement to the Indians and also perhaps with the intention of dividing the territory of the United States, and making the Mississippi River the Western boundary of the growing Republic, the British Government pushed a company or two of troops through to the Mississippi, by way of Green Bay and the Wisconsin River. They were piloted through by one of the early French traders, encamped a few days on the prairie, afterwards called English Prairie, the present site of the village of Muscoda. They afterwards continued on down the Wisconsin and Mississippi and established a post on Rock Island at the foot of the Upper Rapids. Here they were established in the center of the Indian tribes at war with the whites. The main village of the Sauks and Foxes was in the immediate vicinity. The Winnebagoes inhabited the south-west portion of Wisconsin. The Ojibways, or Chippeways occupied the country on the Upper Mississippi. The Pottawatomies were east of Rock River, and around the southern bend of

Lake Michigan, and the main town of the Kickapoos was on the present site of the city of Peoria, on the Illinois River.

They were also in a position to take advantage of any circumstances that might "turn up" in the future; and if they had felt secure and had remained in possession of that country until the expiration of the war, the British Government might, with considerable propriety, have claimed it under the treaty of Ghent, as one "of the places taken by them during the war."

Thus strengthened and encouraged, the Indians became more bold and aggressive. Larger war parties "took the trail;" the fort at Chicago was taken, and the troops and white inhabitants massacred. The frontier settlers were all driven into the forts and stations, and general alarm prevailed. The whites soon found that they must put all their strength in the field. Government furnished one company of regulars. Several quite severe battles were fought. The Shawnees occupying the country east and south, became within a short time nearly exterminated. An army of about five hundred men made an incursion north into the Kickapoo country; took and burned their principal village on the Illinois, destroyed their growing crops of corn, and so completely humbled them that they gave the whites no further trouble.

Another expedition was then formed, and put under the command of Major Zachary Taylor, with Captain Samuel Whiteside and others, to make an incursion into the country of the Sauks and Foxes, and to establish forts along the Upper Mississippi.

Keel boats were built to carry their supplies, and also to take the men on board, if necessary. One or two swivel guns were taken on each boat. The expedition proceeded up the Mississippi, the troops marching along the shore and keeping company with the boats.

Proceeding in this manner up the river, they at length reached the vicinity of Rock Island, where they expected to find the main Indian village. All the troops were taken on board the boats, and with poles and oars they were making their way slowly against the current, keeping as far from the shore as possible. The water was low at the time, and when they were making their way up past the first Island, about a mile below Rock Island, a strong wind from the west struck the boats, driving them on the sand-bar just above the head of the island first mentioned. Quite a number of men

jumped out to shove the boats off. Suddenly a cannon was heard. A six-pound ball passed through the bow of the leading boat, and looking up stream they saw the English flag floating in the breeze at the foot of Rock Island. This put a new face upon the matter; this was the first intimation to them that they would have any other power besides the Indians to contend with: at the same time a great many Indians were seen running down the west bank of the river.

Owing to the situation of the boats, the sudden surprise of the appearance of a British flag, and the continuance of the cannonade, they failed to get off the boats before a considerable number of the Indians had crossed over to the island from the main land, and opened fire upon them with their rifles. The men again took to the boats, which were still hard aground. In this situation affairs remained for a short time. The rifle balls could not penetrate through the sides, but the cannon balls were plowing up the water in dangerous proximity. At length Captain Whiteside jumped upon the sand-bar and called out, "All you who are not cowards, follow me," and made a rush for the island. The men immediately followed. The Indians were driven in a body into the slough, and while wading back to the main land, a distance of twenty or thirty rods, were exposed to the fire of three or four hundred rifles, which, in the language of the men engaged, "covered the water with the bodies of dead Indians." The boats were then quickly shoved afloat, and with "all aboard" floated down stream. The Indians continued along down the shore for a mile or two, but out of range of the rifles on the boats. The Indians, apparently not knowing of any other arms on the boats except the rifles, collected in a bend of the river below, in large numbers, for the purpose of giving their enemies a parting fire at comparatively short range; the boats floated on until opposite them, and then opened upon them with canister and grape from the swivels; the Indians fled in great dismay, and with terrible loss.

No other battles of any magnitude occurred during the war with England in that quarter, and peace with Great Britain brought quiet to the border. The whites had increased to about twelve thousand inhabitants, and the Indian tribes nearest the settlements had suffered so much that they were not only willing to remain at peace with them, but were also quite ready to assist them against the more distant tribes.

Previous to the termination of the war of Great Britain, very little commerce was carried on in the country; some few trips had been made to New Orleans with keel-boats or pirogues, and some goods were occasionally brought over the Alleghany mountains by means of wagons. The round trip to New Orleans and back required six months; the trip down was easy and required but a few days, but the return trip of twelve hundred miles against the current was a different matter.

It was entirely a barter trade. Money was nearly unknown. Furs, wild honey and other commodities of the country, as well as lead from the Missouri mines, were carried down and exchanged for groceries, cloths, etc. As a natural consequence, goods of that nature were extremely dear. The common price of tea was sixteen dollars a pound, coffee fifty cents, and calico fifty cents per yard. But after the war a change in this respect was quickly made. Steam-boats soon made their appearance on the Western waters; trips that formerly required six months were now made in as many weeks. A new tide of emigration set in, and before the year 1820, the country began to show evidences of the wonderful growth that has since followed.

At the close of the war, a new question began to agitate the country; that was the question of slavery. The early settlers came with a determination that slavery should not follow them. The ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery from all the Northwest Territory, the fondly hoped would enable them to carry out this determination without any great difficulty. But when the tide of emigration set in from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas principally, with a considerable number from Pennsylvania and other Northern States, they began to find the advocates of slavery increasing. Long lines of wagons, horses, cattle and negroes were daily seen passing on to Missouri, beyond the limits of the Northwest Territory. The people were poor, and it looked as though slavery in their case might be a benefit. Missouri was taking the lead in population, having, in 1810, 20,845; Illinois the same year, 12,282. In 1820, Missouri had 66,586, and Illinois 55,211. Here was plain evidence of the advantages of slavery; wealth, population, and slavery moving in the same direction. But the old settlers remained firm in their opposition, while a majority of the new-comers, even from the Northern States, were willing to

sacrifice principal to interest. Quite a number had purchased French slaves, and of course they were willing that the blessing should be extended to others. Petitions were sent to Congress praying for the repeal or modification of the ordinance of 1787 with respect to slavery. Slavery could not be admitted without an amendment to the State Constitution. Still the agitation was continued. The first Constitution of Illinois was adopted in 1818. Missouri was admitted as a State under the compromise of 1820. This was another incentive to the advocates of slavery, not only in Illinois, but also in Missouri. The latter did not wish to be cut off from the other Slave States by a free State lying between. By a united effort they were enabled to extend to Illinois the statutes of Virginia with respect to freeing negroes. The owners were required to enter into bonds for the good behavior of the manumitted slaves, and also that they should not become a county charge. Owners of slaves, in Missouri and other States, were also permitted to hire them out in Illinois for a given number of days; and no slave, by reason of such residence, should become free.

In 1822, Edward Coles, a native of Virginia, and thoroughly anti-slavery in his views, was elected Governor; but this was only accomplished, as the other side claimed, by a split in their ranks. Efforts then commenced to bring the question of slavery before the Legislature at the next session. This was to be accomplished in the shape of an act calling a Convention to amend the State Constitution. To pass this act, required a two-thirds vote of both branches of the Legislature, and the people at the next election had to sanction the action of the Legislature by a majority of all the votes cast at such election. In the Senate, the slavery party had the required two-thirds, but in the lower house they lacked one vote of that number.

There was also a United States Senator to be elected at the same session. There were three or four aspirants for that office, and the contest bid fair to be close. The slavery party were divided in their choice, but a majority of them were in favor of Jesse B. Thomas, and upon making a count they ascertained that he could be elected by a certain course, not just then to be made public.

A contested seat came up from Pike county, John Shaw, who afterward made a location at Black River Falls, in this State, probably the first settler there, and more recently settled in Marquette

county, was one of the contestants. The name of the other contestant was Hanson. Hanson was anti-slavery, but would vote for Thomas. Shaw would vote for the Constitutional Convention, but would not vote for Thomas. Shaw was elected as Anti-Convention. The point, then, was to make this contested case work both ways. By admitting Hanson to the seat they could elect Thomas, but would lose the Convention; by admitting Shaw they would lose Thomas, but could carry the vote for the Convention. They therefore resolved to elect the Senator first, then give the seat to Hanson and elected their man, but afterward reconsidered the vote admitting Hanson to the seat, and gave it to Shaw, and carried the act for a Convention.

By the result of this sharp practice, the Convention party was triumphant. They were now sure of ultimate victory. Abuse and intimidation were the weapons with which to fight and win the battle. But this was where they made their great mistake. Their confidence worked their own defeat. The "Old Rangers" were not made of the stuff to be either intimidated or driven. They went into the contest with their usual determination to conquer. Newspapers were established, every man who could write or speak was pressed into the service. Hand-bills were printed and sent broadcast over the land. Speech upon speech was made in every settlement and almost in every house. Business was nearly suspended. No such political contest had ever taken place in the United States.

At length the election day came—the vote was taken and decided anti-slavery by several hundred majority. Consternation was depicted upon the faces of the slavery party. No such result had been anticipated by them, and they were now about as much despondent as they had before been triumphant. But there was yet a glimmer of hope. St. Clair county, the most populous, and, next to Monroe, the oldest settled county, gave the heaviest vote against the Convention. Without her vote the Convention would carry; with her vote counted the Convention was lost. The County Clerk was for slavery, and the Convention, and refused to send up or deliver over the election returns. But he miscalculated the spirit and determination of the "Old Settlers." The rifle, that had hung so many years over the fire-place almost idle, was taken down, carefully cleaned and loaded, and the owner quietly started for Belleville, the county seat. As each one came in, he found others there

before him, or just-coming in, all on the same business. The office of the clerk was surrounded, he was given ten minutes to deliver up the returns of the election. This he was but too ready to do before one-half the ten minutes had expired. A messenger was immediately dispatched with them to Vandalia, the State Capitol, and the question of slavery forever settled in Illinois.

What mighty results in the future hung upon the result of that election, who can tell? Had Illinois decided in favor of slavery in the contests of 1822-24, there is every reason to believe that Wisconsin, and Iowa, and perhaps all the other Western States would have followed in the same direction. Civilization, wealth and progress would have been rolled back for many long years; and to-day, probably, the dark curse of slavery would have extended over the whole Union. The battle was fought and won by but few in numbers, and those mostly illiterate men, but the result is none the less grand.

With the settlement of the slavery question to Illinois, came new life to the State. Not only from the Slave States lying south and south-east, but also from the east, over the mountains, immigrants came pouring in. The "blue-bellied Yankees," as old Governor Kinney delighted to call them, made their appearance with the "Plymouth collection" and the singing-book. The school-master was abroad getting up schools at three dollars a quarter, and "board around." The educated minister was sent out by the Home Missionary Society. Public improvements were carried on. The question of connecting the Illinois River with Lake Michigan by means of the Illinois and Michigan canal began to take shape. Settlements were extended up the Illinois River, and up the Mississippi as far as the "Lead-Mines," in the Southwestern part of Wisconsin. And at the end of that decade, Illinois came out ahead of Missouri, with a population of 41,000 freemen over the latter State, with a corresponding increase in wealth. No farther comparisons were heard from Missouri with regard to the advantages of slavery over freedom in the development of the respective States.

In 1827, the Winnebago Indians got up a little disturbance in the south-western part of Wisconsin, in the neighborhood of Prairie du Chien; but General Atkinson led a detachment of Government troops into the country, joined by a few companies of vol-

unteers from the Lead Mines under command of Colonel Dodge, soon settled the difficulty. Some five or six white men, and perhaps as many Indians, were killed during this trouble.

The first attempt to navigate the Illinois River by means of steamboats was made in 1830. Previous to that time this was thought to be impossible by reason of the sand-bars during low water. Keel-boats were formerly used in navigating the river, and for this description of boats, carrying not more than fifteen or twenty tons it was not uncommon to have to dig channels with shovels to enable them to pass the bars. Only two bars on the river were composed of anything but sand or mud. One of these at Bairdstown, was formed of mussel shells, and the other at the mouth of Copperas creek was gravel. These two bars were improved by dredging: all the others were kept at sufficient depth by the continued passage of steam-boats up and down the river. Perhaps lines of boats on the Wisconsin River would produce the same result. Capt. Harris, the oldest Upper Mississippi captain, always maintained that he could navigate the Wisconsin as high up as Fort Winnebago (Portage City,) with boats drawing more water than he could the former river as high up as St. Paul.

Just above the city of Alton, Ill., high up on the face of the cliff fronting the Mississippi, there was the picture of a bird, standing erect, with wings extended; it was represented as having horns like the deer or elk; in height it was about ten feet, and from tip to tip of the wings, about twenty feet. Forty years ago the color was bright and very distinct, but in late years owing to the encroachment of the city and the continued smoke from the lime kilns in the immediate vicinity, it has become very indistinct. The legend of the Piasa [(pronounced Pi-a-sau) as related by the Indians, is as follows:

"Many, many moons ago, before the white men came, this enormous bird, the Piasa, suddenly appeared in that country. It extended its flight over a great many miles of the surrounding prairie. It was so large and strong that it could carry off both men and women with ease; even the deer and most other wild animals were made its prey. Its home was in a cave of the cliff mentioned above; its perch in the morning and evening was on a point of the cliff immediately above where the painting was made. There it would remain perched until the sun was fairly risen, and then

soar away in search of prey. Almost every day one of the tribe would disappear, and too well the Indians knew his fate. The word 'Piasa' told it all. The victim was carried to the cave, and in a short time the bones only were left to tell the tale. So great became the alarm of the Indians in the neighborhood, that they fled many miles away, but they could not escape the flight of the dreaded Piasa. Every stratagem that they could invent was resorted to for its capture and destruction; but all without avail. At length the chief, an old man, fasted many days and nights, and prayed to the Great Spirit to save his people from destruction. One night the Great Spirit appeared to him in a dream, and told him that he must sacrifice himself for his nation; said that in the morning, before it was light, he must take his station on the highest point of the cliff where the Piasa made its usual appearance at that early hour; that he must place twelve of his bravest warriors in ambush close by, with bows and poisoned arrows, and that when the Piasa discovered and darted down upon him, they must let fly their arrows, and if possible kill or wound him, and this they could do if their hearts were brave. He accordingly chose out twelve of his bravest warriors and placed them in ambush as directed, then took his station on the cliff, covered his head and then commenced to sing his death song. Just as the sun was seen rising in the east, the Piasa appeared, soared up, and circling around high up in heavens, made the fatal swoop for the chief, but just before he struck him with his talons, the concealed Indians let fly their arrows, and the Piasa fell dead, pierced through the heart. The chief was saved alive, and his people saved from destruction."

As long as the Indians inhabited that country, when passing up or down the river at that point in their canoes, they would stop and fire their rifles at the picture of the Piasa.

This legend may be only invention or imagination, but if so, how came so many human bones, and also bones of wild animals, mingled in such confusion in the cave midway up a perpendicular cliff, over two hundred feet high from the surface of the water?

During the trouble with the Winnebagos, in 1827, the band of Sauks and Foxes under Black Hawk, showed considerable disposition to make trouble, but through the interposition of Keokuk, another of the chiefs of those tribes, they were restrained from any acts of violence. In 1830, however, Black Hawk and his band

showed more than usual symptoms of dissatisfaction. In the spring of that year, he made his appearance in Lewiston, Fulton county, with his whole band of warriors, about four hundred in number. They came in a full dress of war paint, faces painted red with black marks on cheeks and forehead to show the number of scalps they had individually taken. They came in on horseback, Black Hawk and his brother leading, carrying a large blood-red flag.

The settlers well understood that the object was to show to the whites the great number and strength of his warriors. But no acts of hostility were committed. Yet those intimately acquainted with the Indians' disposition and character, could not fail to notice a restless and defiant feeling.

They had been from time immemorial a hostile feeling existing between the Sauks and Foxes and the Sioux Indians. This feeling often broke out into open war. And there being at this time quite a large band of the latter tribe in the village may have had an influence somewhat upon the former, but necessity compelled them to remain at peace while in the white settlements.

In the spring of 1831, Black Hawk and his band showed a still stronger feeling to commence war upon the whites. They crossed over from the west side of the Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the mouth of Rock River, and declared their intention of again taking possession of the country formerly occupied by them; but, in consideration of the payment of a considerable amount of corn and other provisions, they were prevailed upon to re-cross the River, and remain at peace.

Early the next spring, 1832, however, thinking another supply of corn desirable, they recrossed to the east side of the Mississippi, and made the same demands that had been acceded to by General Gaines the previous year; but, not finding all their demands promptly complied with, they commenced acts of hostility which finally ended in war.

But before any actual outbreak, reports began to circulate from one settlement to another of frequent and repeated acts of robbery and plunder, committed by the Sauks and Foxes under Black Hawk. In many instances, the white settlers left their homes, and fled into the more settled portions of the State. This emboldened the Indians to commit further acts of aggression. In fact, their acts now became so openly hostile, that Governor Reynolds, of Illinois,

saw the necessity of immediate and prompt action to check them. Troops were accordingly ordered from different parts of the State, to concentrate at or near the mouth of Rock River. Early in the month of April, a force of nearly two thousand men, under the command of Governor Reynolds and General Whiteside (the "old ranger") reached that point. Included in this force, was a regiment under Colonel Stillman, which numbered about four hundred men, and was composed of companies from the counties of Fulton and Peoria, and were all, with perhaps the exception of one company, under Captain Adams, of Peoria, drafted men — a force that can never be depended upon in any serious work.

Between Stillman's force and the band of Indians under Black Hawk, numbering from six to eight hundred, was fought the first battle of the Sauk war, a battle that resulted very disastrously to the whites. Three or four days after the battle, Stillman and his men came into Ottawa, Illinois, and a more sorry looking set could not easily be found. The great majority of them were minus hats, many without coats and guns, some with horses, and others on foot. They were, in fact, in all imaginable conditions that an army could be who had made a general run from the field of battle.

From the various and, in some instances, conflicting accounts gathered from the men, it appears that the following are about the facts with regard to the battle of the "Sycamores." And it may be as well to state at the outset, that many of the men engaged in it, perhaps the majority, were, at the commencement of the affair, intoxicated. They all agreed in this, and, as a natural consequence, such men were not easily controlled.

About the middle of the afternoon, on the day of the battle, the regiment had halted for the purpose of encamping for the night. Nearly all the horses had been picketed out, turned loose, or otherwise disposed of. The men were lazily engaged about camp—some gathering wood, pitching tents, etc., and others drinking whisky, of which necessary beverage they had an abundance in camp; and, to save time, they knocked in the heads of the barrels containing it. But suddenly a great commotion arose. Three Indians had made their appearance, on the open prairie, a short distance in advance. The cry was now raised, "Every man draw his rations of Sauks!" Then the rush commenced; the first man to mount his horse and

give chase was the best fellow. Pell-mell was the order of march. This order—or, rather, disorder—continued for some distance—probably two or three miles. Two of the Indians were overtaken on the prairie and killed. At length the rear of the army reached the Sycamore, a small stream on the out-skirts of a grove of timber. Here they met the van in the same disgraceful order, in full retreat, and the whole body of Indians in hot pursuit. The whole direction of things had suddenly changed; these men, who a few minutes before were so anxious to pursue the enemy, were now more anxious to escape. Amid this confusion, Captain Adams, with the company from Peoria, succeeded in crossing the creek, and took a position between the fugitives and the Indians. This position they held for some time against the whole force of the enemy, and no doubt saved the lives of many who hardly merited the name of men. This, however, was not accomplished without severe loss. Captain Adams, and about one-fourth of his men, were left dead on the field.

There was now no longer any uncertainty. The Indians separated their force into small bands, and numerous reports of sudden attacks and massacres, some true and others false, came in from various surrounding points.

The evening of the day previous to the arrival of Stillman and his men at Ottawa, the Indian massacre occurred on Indian Creek, about fourteen miles distant, from that place. A statement appears, in the Historical Reports, that all the whites present at the time of the massacre, except the two Misses Hall, taken prisoners, were killed. That statement is not correct. The first intelligence received at Ottawa of that event, was brought in by a young man, a brother of the Misses Hall, who was present at the commencement of the attack, and who arrived at Ottawa about midnight; but his mind was so much confused by the fright, that he was unable to give any connected statement of the facts until the next day. From his statement it appears that the wagons containing the furniture and effects of the families were not yet unladen, when the Indians made the attack. In the morning of the same day on which the occurrence transpired, the three families of Hall, Pettigrew, and Davis, had, upon warning received from Sha-bo-nis, a Pottawatamie chief, that the "Sauks were coming," fled to Ottawa, the nearest settlement. Davis was not at

home at the time; but when he reached there, a short time after the families had left, he followed them to Ottawa, where he arrived about the same time that they reached that place. He at once declared his determination to take his own family back home; and most unfortunately, and against the unanimous admonition of all the inhabitants, prevailed upon Hall and Pettigrew to accompany him with their families; and they had only just arrived at Davis' house late in the afternoon, when the Indians came upon them. At the moment of attack, Davis and young Hall were in the blacksmith shop. Davis was fixing his gun, and at the time had the barrel of the gun separate from the stock. When the alarm was given, he rushed out of the shop with the gun-barrel in his hands, and was immediately surrounded by the Indians. Young Hall ran to the creek, a few yards distant, jumped down the bank, and taking the downward course of the stream, reached Ottawa the same night. The Misses Hall afterwards said that Davis killed six Indians with the gun-barrel before he was finally overcome.

It appears from what some of Stillman's men said, that they were encamped in the immediate vicinity of this occurrence at the time—so near, in fact, that they distinctly heard the report of the guns. One company made application for permission to reconnoiter in the direction these reports were heard; but from some cause not explained at the time, Col. Stillman refused their application. Probably the recollection of what transpired on the Sycamore, a few days previous, had some effect on his mind to prevent it.

In the afternoon of the day following this massacre, a company of men from Ottawa, accompanied by some of Stillman's party, started for the scene of murder, and the accounts they gave on their return of the appearance in and around the house were horrible in the extreme. Even little infants were mangled in a shocking manner, being literally cut to pieces. And this, too, was done in the immediate presence, and doubtless with the sanction of Black Hawk himself.

This inhuman disposition manifested by that noted chief, on this occasion, and in several other instances during that war, prove the fact that, notwithstanding he and his band had for a long number of years previous been upon peaceable and professedly friendly terms with the whites, yet through all these years their natural and savage disposition remained unchanged; and the same disposition,

unquestionably, exists with the Indians upon the borders of our State at the present day. In connection with this feeling is also one of deadly hate towards the Che-mo-ko-man, (Long Knife); and a knowledge of their own weakness alone induces them to remain at peace with the whites.

Sha-bo-nis, the Indian chief previously mentioned, was a noble specimen of the red man; brave, generous, and a true friend to the whites. Yet with all his good qualities, he had the Indian thirst for whisky; and when under its influence was, as is usual with the Indian, in the habit of boasting of his exploits in war, and generally wound up by saying that he was a good friend to his white brother, and that he never told a lie, which assertion no one that knew him ever called in question. After the battle of Sycamore, he started for the nearest white settlements in the direction the Sauks were taking. As mentioned before, he notified the settlers on Indian Creek that the Sauks were coming; after getting them started for Ottawa, he continued on to the east to Holdman's and Kellogg's Groves, where there were five or six families; these he found in a considerable state of alarm, all assembled at one house; he reached there quite late in the evening, told them to run, the Sauks were coming—no time to lose. They immediately started with what they could take in their hands, and fortunately, did not, as is usual in such cases, seek shelter in the grove immediately back of the house; but continued out upon the open prairie. They had not proceeded more than forty or fifty rods before the Indians surrounded the house; and they knew by the appearance of things that the occupants had but lately left it. The Indians now scattered through the grove in search of them; for two or three hours this search continued, the whites fearing to move from the position they occupied. The Indians again returned to the house, set it on fire, and danced and yelled around it until nearly day-light, and then left. During all this time the whites were not more than forty or fifty rods distant, in plain sight and hearing of the Indians, but not a child, nor even a dog—of which there were three or four—made a noise or moved during these long hours of fear and suspense. The next day they reached Ottawa in safety.

A few days after the battle of Sycamore, General Atkinson, of the regular army arrived at Dixon on Rock River, and assumed command of the army, which now numbered about 2,500 men;

but the militia, having been drafted for only three months service, now insisted on being mustered out. They were accordingly marched to Ottawa, and discharged about the last of May. In the meantime Governor Reynolds called for 2,000 volunteers, to rendezvous at different points on the Illinois River. One regiment volunteered from the force just discharged, to protect the frontier settlements until the volunteers called for were ready to take the field. General Whiteside volunteered as a private, under Captain Snyder, in this regiment. While Captain Snyder was on a scout with his company in the Rock River country, they were fired upon by a party of Indians. The Indians were pursued and all killed, and one white man wounded. On their return, while on the border of a grove of timber, in search of water, they were attacked by a superior force of Indians, retreated to the open prairie, rallied and drove the Indians back into the timber; but again retreated this time in confusion, and putting their horses down to their best time, made for the nearest station, the Indians pursuing and yelling in the rear. The entreaties and commands of the officers had no effect on the men to stop their flight. At length Whiteside halted and dismounted from his horse, on the open prairie, waiting for the first Indian to come within range of his rifle. On the Indians came, led by one bedecked in all the finery and feathers of a war-chief; but something appeared to betoken near danger. That old man with hair nearly as white as snow falling to his shoulders, standing there alone on the prairie, with rifle resting in his hand, was something to be guarded against. The Indians advanced, but the leader began to swerve in his course, now to the right, then to the left, his body now lying close to his horse's neck, again erect. But the eye and nerve of more than sixty winters were true and steady. At the crack of the rifle the leader fell dead from his horse. The pursuing Indians came to a full stop, sent up a united, hideous yell over the fallen chief, which caused the fleeing whites to look around; who comprehending the situation at a glance, returned, from very shame, in full charge upon the Indians: The latter precipitately fled, carrying off their dead chief.

When the men asked Whiteside why he could stop there alone and expose himself to almost certain death, he replied that he had never yet ran from an Indian, and he never would.

The war continued with varying success to both parties, until the

final defeat of the Indians, at the battle of Bad Axe, on the 27th of August. Four persons besides those previously mentioned were killed in the vicinity of Ottawa during the war, namely: Paine, Hazelton, Schemerhorn, and Beresford; and Captain McFadden, afterwards a resident of Dane county, in this State, was wounded.

In relation to the death of Paine, perhaps a more minute account may not be without interest to the reader. About the first of June, the settlers at Walker's Grove, in the present county of Du Page, Illinois, finding themselves without sufficient protection against the Indians, concluded to leave their homes and seek a more safe protection at Fort Dearborn, Chicago. Paine was at the Grove at the time, and used every persuasion to induce Captain Walker to change the course of his intended flight to Ottawa, about the same distance, forty miles, in the opposite direction, stating among other reasons, that he was fully impressed (spiritually) that, by adhering to the determination of going in the direction of the former place, they would all be killed. These impressions and persuasions, however, failed to have their due effect on Captain Walker, and each one, accordingly, acted as he thought best. Paine started south, under the impression, as he expressed it, that he had looked upon his friends and neighbors for the last time—which in the end proved true, but not in the manner that he expected. About two weeks afterwards, a company of men were out on a scout, some eight miles up the Illinois, near Ottawa, and found, fixed upon a pole, the head of a white man. From some articles found in the vicinity they knew it to be that of Paine. Subsequently some of the Indians engaged in this affair, gave a more full account of the transaction. Paine wore a beard of unusual length, at that day, and presented a very singular appearance—and more particularly to the Indians, who had seldom seen anything of the kind before.

The Indians had stationed themselves upon a wagon trail that passed to the east of the main road, and which had been latterly traveled by the whites, with the object of keeping beyond rifle range from a grove of timber to the west, and near the main traveled road. Paine took this trail, and when he arrived opposite the point where the Indians were concealed, they, contrary to their usual custom, doubtless operated upon by his singular appearance, rose up in full view. Paine came to a halt at the same time. In this man-

ner, each party remained looking at each other for some moments. the Indians holding almost the unanimous opinion that he was the Devil. Unfortunately for Paine, he rode a remarkably good looking horse; and one of the Indians, influenced in part by that fact, and not, probably, quite as superstitious as the others, remarked that, devil or no devil, he wanted his horse. He accordingly leveled his rifle and fired, breaking Paine's arm. Paine immediately fled. The Indians ran back a short distance, over a slight rise of ground, where their ponies were concealed, and started in pursuit. They succeeded in cutting him off from the direct line to Ottawa, causing him to diverge considerably to the left, and after a chase of about twenty miles, overtook and killed him.*

The Pottawattamie Indians remained at peace with the whites during the war. Those west of Lake Michigan were collected mostly at Ottawa and Chicago, and were fed by the Government during the summer. Near the close of the war they took open grounds against the Sauks. At the commencement of the war, however, the great majority of the young men of that tribe manifested a strong disposition to take up the tomahawk against the whites, and were only prevented doing so by Robinson, their war chief, a half-breed.

The following account was narrated by Robinson himself, soon after the war, and is no doubt true: The old men were for peace, but being largely in the minority, their opposition in council to the young men amounted to but little; war was, therefore, resolved upon, and they even went so far as to lay their plans for the taking of Fort Dearborn by surprise, in which they would probably have been successful had it been attempted.† The officer in command of the fort had no suspicion of any hostile intention on their part, and had, for some time, allowed them to come into the fort every morning to draw their rations for the ensuing day. In this way they intended to get possession of the fort, and massacre the inmates. At this time Robinson, and Half Day, the orator of the tribe, wishing to make a last effort to dissuade them from their purpose, called

* In Matson's History of Bureau County, Illinois, may be found a detailed account of the death of Rev. Adam Paine, who had been a missionary among the Indians. L. C. D.

†It will be seen by the appended statements of Gurdon S. Hubbard, who first located at Chicago, in 1818, and William Hickling, another early settler, that no design could have been formed of attempting the surprise of Fort Dearborn in 1832; but something of the kind was contemplated during the Winnebago troubles of 1827. In 1832, when Robinson and the Pottawattamies lived with the Americans, they did not undertake a separate expedition, but formed a part of the force under Generals Atkinson and Henry, as the incident of killing the solitary Indian at Madison sufficiently verifies. L. C. D.

a council of the warriors. The council lasted two or three days, and they used all the eloquence and influence they possessed to induce the young men to change their purpose, but without effect. The final vote was taken, and declared by a large majority for war. Upon this decision being made, Robinson arose, walked to the door of the council house, then turned and faced his warriors. Returning their fiery and defiant glances with equal defiance, he said: "You see me before you. I led the old men to battle when they were young. They have told you of my deeds in war, of the scalps I have taken. I am brave, and you know it. I have never turned my back to an enemy; that you also know. I fought the white men as long as there was any hope of success; but when I saw our warriors become few and weak, and the white men become many and strong, I knew that all hope of success was gone. I then said to the whites, 'Let us live at peace. I will be your friend, I don't speak with two tongues (don't lie.) You intend to take up the tomahawk against the whites; but first cut me in two, throw one-half to my white brother, keep the other for my Indian brother, then fight. I will not hear the war-whoop.'" After standing silent for a few moments, he continued: "If you must go to war, why not fight your old enemies, the Sauks? I will lead you on the war-path. Will you follow me? Decide now." Instantly the war-whoop was given by more than a hundred warriors. The decision was made.

Immediate preparations were made, and by daylight the next morning, Robinson, at the head of eighty braves, and accompanied by Capt. Geo. E. Walker, of Ottawa, were on the war-path leading to the west.

They made directly for the Four Lakes, the present location of Madison, arriving on the high ground between Third and Fourth Lakes, about where the Capitol now stands, they observed down on the shores of the Third Lake, towards the Catfish, a large number of tents, which they supposed were occupied by Black Hawk and his whole band. The usual war-whoop again sounded, and a general charge was made upon the enemy. Capt. Walker afterwards said he considered the charge a rather rash experiment, but his only safety, under the circumstances, was to go with the crowd. Fortunately for them, they found the encampment deserted; the Indians having all left a few hours before, with the exception of one old

blind Indian who had been left to his fate. Capt. Walker tried to save his life, on the ground that he was old and blind, and could do no harm. The reply was that he had done harm. That view of the case was sufficient to cause him the loss of his scalp.

By the course pursued by Robinson in this instance, he undoubtedly saved many of the frontier settlers from destruction, who have, in consequence, since looked upon and respected him as their preserver from all the horrors of Indian war. He still lived, a few years since, on the O'Plain river, twelve miles west of Chicago, and when his tribe was removed west of the Mississippi, they settled upon him, through the United States Government, a life annuity of five hundred dollars per annum.*

Robinson occasionally indulged in the use of whisky; not, however, to any great extent, just enough to make him talkative. On these occasions he delighted to relate the experience of his younger days. He was present at the surrender of the fort at Chicago, during the last war with England, but used all his influence to prevent the massacre of the troops that followed; but finding himself unable to turn the Indians from their purpose, he made preparations to save, if possible, the Captain of the fort and his wife from their impending fate. Knowing the route the troops intended to take, and also, the spot selected by the Indians to make the attack, he concealed a bark canoe in that vicinity, to be used if any opportunity offered. During the confusion that followed the first volley fired by the Indians, and partly covered by the smoke, he succeeded in placing Captain Helm and his wife in the canoe and carried them to Mackinaw—navigating the whole length of Lake Michigan in a bark canoe, and keeping out of sight of land nearly the whole distance, which was rendered necessary, to escape the notice of any roving bands of Indians along the shore. Probably the history of the Western country does not furnish a more daring feat than this.

But the battle of the Miami, 1794, and the expedition of General Cass to Lake Superior, in 1820, were always in order on these occasions.

The battle of the Miami, between the Americans, under General Wayne, and the Indians, occurred in the summer of 1794. Robinson was quite young at the time; but still of sufficient age to ob-

*Robinson died at his residence, on the Au Plaine, April 23, 1872, at about the age of eighty-three years. L. C. D.

serve and understand all the arrangements and the intentions of the Indians previous to the battle. They felt confident of victory: They considered their numbers sufficient, and they also had the moral support of a British garrison in the vicinity, as well as the advice of the English officers in laying their plans for the conflict. The American army numbered about two thousand men, and was composed about equally of cavalry, or mounted men, and infantry. The Indians had selected a swamp for the battle-ground. In front was quite an elevation of ground, covered with an open growth of timber, and no underbrush. The summit of the ridge was nearly or quite a half a mile from the swamp, and also descended about the same distance in the opposite direction. The plan was, that when the Americans came along, the Indians were to show themselves on the ridge. The Americans would, of course, attack them in this position, when the Indians would fall back into the swamp, calculating that the whites would follow them. In this event, they considered the victory almost certainly theirs.

All their plans being arranged, the Indians took up their position, awaiting the approach of the Americans. Their line extended over a mile along the ridge. Their scouts and spies kept them constantly informed of the approach of the enemy, the order of march, etc. At length the head of the American army was seen advancing. The line of march was parallel to the ridge on which the Indians were stationed, and about half a mile distant.

The Americans halted when they came opposite the Indians. The mounted men formed in a line facing the ridge, the infantry in the rear. All arrangements being made for the battle, the cavalry began to advance—first in a walk; presently the horses broke into a trot, and by the time they had made about one-half the intervening distance to the summit of the ridge, they came down to a full gallop, the infantry moving up in quick time in the rear.

The Indians had never seen men fight on horseback, and supposed that when the whites came within gun-shot, they would dismount, hitch their horses, and fight the battle on foot. Acting upon this supposition, they fell back about ten or fifteen rods, towards the swamp, and prepared to give the Americans a general fire at short range, when they dismounted to hitch their horses. But when the cavalry reached the summit of the ridge, what was

the surprise and consternation of the Indians to see them coming, and yelling "like h—l!" as Robinson expressed it—the men bending low on their horses, with every sword unsheathed.

"Oh!" said Robinson, "you ought to have seen the poor Indians run then!"

But it was too late. They gave one wild, random fire, and broke for the swamp. The cavalry charged right through them, then wheeled from the center right and left, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives. "Oh!" he would continue, "it was awful!"

His admiration for General Wayne was so great that he named one of his boys Anthony Wayne, the greatest general, in his opinion, that ever fought a battle.

In 1820, General Cass was detailed by the War Department to make a treaty with the Chippewa Indians, for a tract of land at the outlet of Lake Superior, for a military post. General Cass took along fifteen or twenty soldiers, and Robinson and Caldwell, another half-breed Pottawattamie, to act as interpreters. Arriving at the Straits, he sent out runners to inform the Indians of his arrival and business. On the day appointed, about six hundred Indians assembled, a majority of them from the north side of the Straits. A council was called. General Cass explained at length the object of his visit, which was to obtain for the Great Father at Washington, a certain district of country upon which to build a fort, where the traders could be protected, etc.

Robinson was uneasy. He noticed that the Indians were "mad;" they did not look right; and when General Cass had concluded his speech, one of the chiefs arose, and in reply, said that he did not like the Americans—he did not like the Great Father at Washington, and that they would not sell him any of their lands, and that if he (General Cass) and his soldiers did not leave, they would all be killed. The chief then reached back, and took a spear with a cloth around it, from another Indian, gave it a quick shake, stuck the shaft into the ground, and the British flag floated in the breeze to the music of the war-whoop of the entire band.

General Cass instantly stepped up, took the staff in his hand, and jerked it out of the ground, tore off the flag, threw it down, and ground it with his heel—fairly hissing out with rage:

"As long as I live, that flag shall not float in my presence on this side of the Great Lakes.

"Then," said Robinson, "I was afraid. I expected they would kill us all right off."

But not another word was spoken for some minutes. General Cass and the chief stood looking at each other. At length the chief advanced toward Cass, took him by the hand and said:

"The Great Father at Washing can have all the land he wants."

The land was selected, and a treaty signed without any further difficulty.

"General Cass," said Robinson, "was the bravest man I ever saw."

The American Indian is not, generally speaking, of an emotional nature. Robinson could stand, apparently unconcerned and unmoved, surrounded by six hundred Indians, and expecting death every moment; but still, as afterwards acknowledged, he never was so much afraid in his life. An Indian will stand up and meet death, apparently with indifference, if inflicted in the proper manner with the knife or rifle, on the retaliatory principle of blood for blood; but notwithstanding this the love of life is as strong with him as with the white man; his education has been different—that is all. He is not, however, without curiosity, but even this feeling is restrained in a great measure in the presence of strangers. In the wigwam with his own family and friends, all restraint is thrown off, and the Indian appears in a new character, a very child for fun and joviality.

Many years ago, before the white settlements had extended to the northern part of Illinois, and when Chicago-muck—Skunk-Town, was only known as a military post, an Indian, a few miles to the south of that place, took his rifle and started out on his daily hunt. Passing near a clump of bushes, on the borders of a grove of timber, his attention was attracted toward an object that made its appearance in the midst of the bushes, the head and upper part of the body were alone visible. Astonishment filled the Indian's mind, if not depicted in his countenance, "What is it?" Black face, white eyes, short wooly hair. Here was a kind of game that was unusual, that had never been seen or heard of by the "oldest" Indian. After surveying it a moment his ejaculation was "Uh! Mucketa weos, (black meat). Misch Manitou!"—(bad spirit). By the aid of his rifle the singular animal was captured, and carried to the village. Wonder, at the sight, filled the breast of every Indian,

both old and young. Rumors were sent to all the surrounding villages, with accounts of the strange animal captured. Nearly all the tribe came to see it, and be astonished. Numerous opinions were formed and expressed as to what it was, where it came from, etc. All however, settled down to the one conclusion that it was "*bad meat*." The Indians had never before seen or heard of the American citizen of African descent.*

The Winnebago Indians have always been considered the most treacherous and cowardly of all the Western tribes. This was the opinion of all the white settlers, and also of the surrounding tribes of Indians. And during the Sauk war, in 1832, they acted fully up to their true character in these respects. At the commencement of the war, they acted secretly with the Sauks; although, professedly, friendly to the whites. Force and Green, and probably Aubrey also, at the Blue Mounds, were killed by them. Near the close of the war, however, when the tide set so strongly against the Sauks, they took the other side; and to save themselves from the punishment which they knew they merited, a band of them led by Car-a-mau-nee, a second-grade chief, pursued Black Hawk, when he so cowardly left his band to their fate the night before the battle of the Bad Axe, and captured him at the head of the Big Dells, on the Wisconsin River.

A few years since, just below the mouth of the Lemonweir River, on the south side of the first high bluff point, might be seen, and yet probably visible, a rough sketch of a steamboat painted with vermillion, and also of an Indian standing near by looking at it. The sketch was apparently made by the finger, and was probably by Black Hawk himself, to indicate the last remarkable event, and the one that caused him to desert his tribe previous to the final battle on the bank of the Mississippi. It was under the projection of the bluff above mentioned, that Car-a-mau-nee informed the writer that Black Hawk was taken prisoner.†

* Reference is here undoubtedly had to Baptist Point du Sable, a St. Domingo negro, who, in some way, reached the Chicago region, and became a trader at that locality for many years—verifying the old adage, that the first *white* man who settled at Chicago was a negro!
L. C. D.

†The elder Car-a-mau-nee was, at my time, ninety-seven years of age, and could not have been the chief referred to; and it would seem to be a mistake that his nephew, the younger Car-a-mau-nee, had anything to do in the capture of Black Hawk and the Prophet. Gen. Joseph M. Street, the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, sent out One-Eyed De Kaury and Chaetar, both Winnebagoes; they captured the Sauk leaders, and delivered them to General Street, who gives a full account of the affair, published in the *Niles Register*, September 29, 1832. While Car-a-mau-nee pointed out the place where Black Hawk and his companion were captured, he doubtless did not mean to be understood as claiming that he had any personal participation in their captivity.
L. C. D.

In 1827, the "original" town of Chicago was laid out and platted by the canal commissioners, on lands donated to the State of Illinois in aid of the Illinois and Michigan canal. In the fall of the same year the first sale of lots took place. The few "land speculators" present, supposed the center of business in the future town would be along the River, consequently the proximity of the lots to the stream increased the price bid. Lots on Lake street, within two or three blocks of the River, sold at from twenty to forty dollars. On Randolph, some lots sold as high as eighty dollars, while on State street, Michigan and Wabash Avenues, the price paid was considerably less. No immediate settlement followed the land sale, but Chicago remained for several subsequent years as formerly, an Indian town.

The spring of 1833 opened up a new route of emigration to the Western country. Lines of steamers and sailing vessels were put on the Lakes between Buffalo and Chicago; and from that year may properly date the commencement of the mighty growth in population and wealth of Illinois, and the other States and Territories bordering upon Lake Michigan and the Upper Mississippi.

The Indians still owning all the country bordering on Lake Michigan, a few miles to the north of Chicago and as far west as Rock River, caused the emigrants to seek homes in Southern Michigan, Northern Indiana, and Northern Illinois. The great rush of emigration, however, was to the latter State, and no country could present greater inducements to the emigrant; the soil, climate and other natural advantages were all that could be desired.

In the spring of this year, the first frame house was built in Chicago. This, of course, was an event worthy to be recorded as indicating the commencement of a *prosperous village*. The low and swampy nature of the ground for several miles around, except in the immediate vicinity of Fort Dearborn, and along the Lakeshore to the south, would not admit the building of a town of any great magnitude. This was the general opinion, although a few, taking a different view of the case, were willing to back their opinion to the contrary by investing in real estate. The result has shown that the general opinion is not always correct.

In the fall of the same year, the Indians sold to the Government all their lands lying north of Chicago, east of Rock River, and south of Fox River and Green Bay, reserving the right, however, to oc-

The "New Purchase," in the Territory of Wisconsin, now began to attract attention. During the summer several exploring parties from the vicinity of Chicago and further south, went as far north as Milwaukee, then an Indian village and trading-post. Upon their return, they gave a very flattering description of the country; but as the Indian occupancy had not yet expired, no permanent location or settlement was made. In the November following, William See, Harrison K. Fay and Richard Carpenter, of Chicago, and Edmund Weed of Plainfield, made an excursion as far as the mouth of Che-pe-ka-taw-se-be—Root River, the present site of the city of Racine. See and Fay, in company, made a claim at the Rapids, two and a half miles above the mouth of the River. Carpenter made a claim and located near the mouth of the River, on the north side,; but subsequently, when the land was surveyed by Government, finding his improvements on the claim previously made by Captain Gilbert Knapp, was forced to abandon them. And Weed located on the place where he long resided.

On the twenty-first of December, 1834, Keeler Clark, Barrett Clark, James Harris, J. T. Kingston, and two or three others, from Paineville, Illinois, reached the rapids on Root River. They there found Fay, See, and Carpenter. The next day, Harris, Fay and Kingston went down to the mouth of the River. Following down the west bank, they found Stephen Campbell there before them putting up a shanty. They also found Wm. and A. J. Luce, brothers, from Indiana, living in a shanty on the north side of the River, and having also some improvements on the south side, a short distance below the present foot of Main street. The Luces were in the employ of Captain Knapp, who had left them there about a month previous. Before leaving, Captain Knapp had marked out his claim, covering eighty acres on each side of the River. On the south side, his claim extended half a mile south from the center of the River, and eighty rods west from the Lake shore. Kingston made two claims—one for his father, Paul Kingston,* adjoining Captain Knapp's on the south. On this claim they put up the

* Paul Kingston was a native of the county of Cork, Ireland, with English blood on one side, and French Huguenot on the other. He emigrated to the United States in 1805; came west and settled at St. Genevieve, Missouri, in 1807, engaging with his brother in the mercantile business, and freighting to and from New Orleans, also making occasional trips up Red River, the Ohio and other tributaries of the Mississippi. He crossed the Mississippi, and settled near Kaskaskia, in the Territory of Illinois, in 1811, and finally removed to the Territory of Wisconsin, settling at Racine in the spring of 1835. He died at the house of his son, in Necedah, Juneau county, in 1864, at the age of eighty-one years.

body of a shanty on the same day; on the next day the shanty was finished and a permanent settlement was made. This shanty stood to the east of Main street, and about four rods directly north from the house afterwards built by Captain Cram.

The second claim, Kingston made for himself, on Blue River, cornering on the northeast with the Campbell claim, running south and west, and intending to include one hundred and sixty acres. Harris made his claim up the River and west from the Campbell claim, including all the land between Kingston's second claim and the River. The brick-yard is now located on this claim.

The country not being yet surveyed, each claimant marked out and blazed his boundaries, running as near as he could to the four cardinal points to suit his own wishes, having a just regard, however, to the lines marked out by other and previous claimants adjoining. Each claim was usually intended to include one hundred and sixty acres; and the lines thus run out and blazed by the several claimants, it was understood, were to be the boundaries of the lands of each, notwithstanding the Government survey might subsequently establish different lines. This was to be accomplished by deeding to each other after the lands should be surveyed and purchased.

Congress had, for several sessions previous, passed laws granting pre-emption rights to actual settlers. These laws had, however, only extended to settlers on the public lands at the time of the passage of each separate act, and as it was not an unusual circumstance for two settlers to find themselves on the same quarter section when the lands were surveyed, the pre-emption law passed by Congress during the winter of 1832-33, to remedy any trouble that might arise in such cases, contained a provision that where two settlers should find themselves on the same quarter section, each should be entitled to eighty acres of the quarter section occupied by them, and each should also be entitled to a "float" for eighty acres additional, to be located by him, or his assigns, on any unoccupied Government lands then in market. This provision was not, however, contained in any subsequent pre-emption law passed by Congress, and hence settlers, on unsurveyed lands were "a law unto themselves," as far as possible, depending upon the honor and honesty of each other, in a great measure, for protection and their just rights.

After Captain Knapp had made his claim, in the fall of 1834, and previous to leaving for the winter, he had blazed out and established his south line, measuring one hundred and sixty rods from the center of the River south, and eighty rods west from the Lake shore, and had also run his lines on north side of the River to include a like amount of land.

To make the south line, above mentioned, between Knapp's and Kingston's first claim permanent and beyond dispute, a fence was built by the latter on the "blaze" from the high bank near the Lake shore west to Campbell's line.

Quite a number of other claims were taken up during the winter in the vicinity, and all things moved on in a harmonious way until the opening of navigation the ensuing spring.

Early in the spring of 1835, Captain Knapp returned to look after his claim, and finding other claimants around and adjoining him, he concluded to extend his lines in all directions. His south line was accordingly run so as to include the shanty and other improvements, made by Kingston the previous winter, and his west line was extended to the River. This was the commencement of litigation and legislation which, in the end, cost both parties more, perhaps, than they realized from the lands in dispute.

With the opening of navigation in the spring, emigration to the "New Purchase" fairly commenced. Quite a number came from Indiana and Illinois by land, but the majority came from the East by way of the Lakes.

Mr. Pike, and hence the name, settled on the prairie on the headwaters of Pike Creek. John Noble, in the spring of 1835, made the first claim at the mouth of the creek; but later in the season a colony from the East, under the leadership of Samuel Hale, John Bullen, T. Touslee and others, "jumped" Noble's claim, dispossessed him and held his claim, laid out a town and called it South Port. The name Kenosha, the Indian name, was afterward substituted both the creek and town.

The road from Chicago, by way of Gross Point, the only roat at this time leading into the "New Purchase," passing about three miles to the west of Waukegan—meaning high bank—and some five miles to the west of the Lake at the mouth of Pike Creek, thence to the rapids on Root River, and from there down on the south and west side of the River to the present location of Racine.

The summer of 1835 was unusually cold, back from the immediate Lake shore and east of Fox River—Wau-ge-sha Se-be, frost occurred every month during the summer; very few vegetables, and but little grain, were raised, save by the few settlers in the country. This prevailing frost caused very many of the new comers to locate west of that River, and consequently the heaviest settlements in the country were first made west of Fox River. Provisions were very high. Flour, during the spring and summer, was from twenty to thirty dollars per barrel, and pork and other provisions correspondingly high. Nearly all supplies of provisions came by way of the Lakes from Buffalo and Cleveland. During the fall, the price of flour fell to fourteen dollars per barrel. This was considered very cheap as compared with the price earlier in the season. Still the winter of 1835-'36 was unusually hard on the new comers; they were mostly without sufficient means to buy the necessary provisions to last through the cold season. Many families lived entirely upon potatoes, and some even on oats hulled, and afterwards boiled. Game was quite plenty, and from this source many families drew all their supply of food for the winter. But notwithstanding these privations and hardships, the majority of the settlers felt hopeful for the future; some few, however, took the earliest opportunity that offered in the spring to return to their former homes.

The writer was at Chicago early in the spring of 1835, before the opening of navigation on the Lakes, and saw Messrs. Newbury and Dole, who kept a flour and provision store on the corner of Dearborn and South Water streets, sell the last barrel of flour in the market for twenty-eight dollars.

Probably no circumstance more fully shows the wonderful development of agriculture in the Western country than this fact—flour twenty-eight dollars a barrel in the spring of 1835; and in 1855, just twenty years from that date, Chicago was the greatest primary and provision market in the world.

The first Government land sale in Northern Illinois took place in Chicago early in the spring of 1835. The lands offered for sale extended no farther north than the north line of the State.

Emigration from the Eastern States was now immense. Not only immigrants intending to remain permanently in the country, but also hundreds of "land speculators," were on hand at the open-

ing of the land sale. These latter came for the purpose of investing in lands, and as Congress had failed to pass a pre-emption law at the last session, they hoped to make a good thing by buying the land from under the settlers, and afterwards selling it back to them at their own figures, or in holding it for future and higher prices.

Thus situated, it became necessary for the settlers to organize and act together for self-protection. In each township therefore, they appointed a committee composed of the most resolute and determined men, to attend the sale for the purpose of seeing that every man was protected in his rights, and his home secured to him. These committees each made choice of one of their number to bid off all the lands settled upon in their respective townships, furnishing the bidder chosen with the numbers of the land, and also the name of the person occupying or claiming the same. When the number and range of the township were called by the Register of the Land Office, the bidder for that township would take his station in the room, sufficiently near to plainly hear each description as it was offered. If the tract offered was occupied or claimed by a settler, the bidder would call out, "settler; a dollar and a quarter." "Gone," was the reply of the Register. Each tract bid off in this manner had entered opposite it in pencil, "settler, a dollar and a quarter;" and after the sale, each day, the several bidders would hand in to the Receiver a list of the lands bid off by them, with the names of the respective occupants or claimants, who were on hand to pay the price bid. During the continuance of the sale, from day to day, the several committees were in and about the room, usually stripped of all superfluous coats and clothing, and ready for action—the great body of the settlers being present as a reserve, ready to act in case of necessity.

At the commencement of the sale, the 'speculators' could not understand what particular rights the settlers possessed over them in the purchase of Government lands; and in two or three instances, attempted to put in a bid against the settlers. But in such cases they were instantly seized by the committee, and passed out of the room over the heads of the crowd, and landed in the street. The speculators finding themselves unable to successfully contend against superior numbers, called on the commander of Fort Dearborn, and asked his assistance to secure them against interference in bidding at the sale; but he replied that he "was sent there to

protect the settlers;" that his "instructions went no further," and that he was "not willing to assume any responsibilities not plainly set forth in his instructions, or required by his superior officer."

This answer settled the question, and the settlers had no further trouble in that direction.

This same course was adopted by the "settlers" at the land sale held at Milwaukee in the spring of 1839. But one bid was made against a settler. That was made by Andrew J. Luce, previously mentioned. He was immediately seized by the committee and carried out of the room, but escaping from them at the door, he fled in the direction of Racine. He was, however, pursued, captured, and brought back, and threatened with severe usage if he did not withdraw his bid; but this he absolutely refused, claiming that he had the best right to the land in question. The Register of the Land Office notifying the people that if they persisted in their threats against Luce he would adjourn the sale, they let the affair drop. Luce failing to make payment for the land at his bid, it was again offered for sale, and bid off by the occupant.

But the Eastern speculator was destined not to have it all his own way. There was, also, the Western speculator. This latter class was selling mostly city property. Lithograph maps of cities were hung upon the walls of public buildings, in the bar-rooms of hotels, in auction-rooms, and in every place likely to attract the most attention. Each map had its eager and interested group of inquirers. Judging from these maps, those Eastern speculators had fallen upon a wonderful and prosperous country. Rivulets were magnified into noble rivers—canoes appeared as steamboats. The numerous churches and school-houses spoke well for the piety and intelligence of the people. But the most attractive feature was the courthouse—always occupying the center of each plat. Near each map was always to be found some *honest* and *disinterested* individual, ready to explain the surrounding and unseen advantages, as well as the ultimate greatness of the city before them. Literally, it was "diamond cut diamond."

Very many of the early settlers were unable to raise the money to buy their claims when the lands came into market. In such cases they had to depend upon the conscience of those who had money to lend. Some of them would give up one-half their claim for a deed of the other half. Others would hire the necessary

amount of money—the one furnishing the money taking the certificate of purchase in his own name, giving the settler a bond for a deed, running one or more years, generally at twenty-five per cent. annual interest. Very many of the latter, failing to make the last payment, had to give up both lands and improvements, and seek a home further back in the country.

Rev. Jesse Walker, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as previously mentioned, preached the first sermon in Racine. This was in the month of June or July, 1835. Father Walker was born in Virginia, emigrated to Tennessee near the close of the last century, preached in Tennessee and Kentucky until 1807, was then sent by the conference to the Illinois country, and the next year to Missouri. From 1808 to 1824 he preached in Illinois and Missouri, and also extended his travels as far south as Arkansas. In the latter year, he was appointed missionary to the Iniadns in the vicinity of the present city of Peoria, on the Illinois River. In 1826, he was sent as missionary to the Pottawattamie Indians, located near the present city of Ottawa. In 1830, he was a missionary at Chicago, and in 1835 as above, he extended his travels to Racine, or, as it was then called, Port Gilbert.

Father Walker was a true representative of the Western preacher. Below the medium height, slender in build, and mild in disposition. Yet he was never turned aside by dangers or hardships, always seeking out the frontier settlers, comforting and administering to the sick—spending his life, in fact, for the good of his fellow men. He died in the fall of the same year (1835), at the house of his son-in-law Edward Everitt, twelve miles west of Chicago.

APPENDED STATEMENTS.

No. 1—BY GURDON S. HUBBARD.

Your informant is mistaken in his statement that the young warriors of the Pottawattamies designed attempting to capture Fort Dearborn, in 1832. No such design was ever contemplated; had there been, I certainly should have known it. The Pottawattamies were then friendly. Their chief, Shau-be-nee, was very industrious, riding night and day, giving information to frontier

settlers, and protecting them when in his power, sending nine of his young men to General Atkinson, who remained in the army as aids to our troops. I was in General Atkinson's campaign from the time he left the Illinois River, serving sixty days, and personally conversant with every movement.

Mr. Kingston is no doubt mistaken, his statement applying to the Winnebago war of 1827, not to the troubles of 1832. Then such an expedition as he states was contemplated by Big Foot's band, whose village was at Geneva Lake, then known as Big Foot's Lake. Big Foot circulated, secretly, the war wampum to the Potawatamies, while here receiving their annuities; but it was not accepted by the council of chiefs and braves. It was kept so secret that not a white man knew about it. The first intelligence we had here of the massacre on the Upper Mississippi was brought by General Cass, who, at the time, was at Green Bay for the purpose of holding a treaty. The moment the General received the news of the hostile proceedings of the Winnebagoes, he started, in a light birch-bark canoe, descended the Wisconsin and Mississippi to Jefferson Barracks, where he prevailed on the commanding officer to take the responsibility of chartering a steamer, and sending troops up the Mississippi. The expedition left the morning after General Cass arrived there, he accompanying the party as far as the mouth of the Illinois River, which he ascended and came here, to Chicago, in his light canoe. I was taking breakfast at Mr. John Kinzie's, when we heard the Canadian Boat Song. Mr. Kinzie remarked that "the leader's voice is like Forsyth's"—secretary to Governor Cass. We all rushed to the piazza; the canoe, propelled by thirteen *voyageurs*, was coming rapidly down the River in full view—a beautiful sight.

We hastened to the bank, receiving General Cass and Forsyth, the latter a nephew of Mr. Kinzie. While eating their breakfast, they gave us full particulars of what had transpired. General Cass remained probably two hours and left, coasting Lake Michigan. Big Foot's band had lingered here several days after the other Indians had left. During this time the fort, then evacuated, was struck by lightning. The barracks on the east side, the store-house at the south gate, and part of the guard-house at the south gate, burned down; it was, at the time, blowing and raining furiously. I was sleeping with Robert Kinzie, United States postmaster, in his fath-

er's house; we put on our clothes, ran to the River, and found the canoe filled with water. We could make no headway with it; we then swam the River, and aided in extinguishing the fire. We received no aid from the Indians—Big Foot's band. We thought it strange at the time; and they decamped in the morning. The news by Governor Cass caused us to suspect Big Foote. That same day we sent Shau-be-nee and Billy Caldwell to Big Foot's village, as spies, to ascertain what the Indians' intentions were.

Caldwell secreted himself in the woods, sending Shau-be-nee into camp; he was immediately seized, but from his presence of mind and shrewdness got-liberated. He was escorted by Big Foot's Indians for half a day, Shau-be-nee giving a signal as they passed near where Caldwell was, so that he and Caldwell did not return together—Caldwell reaching here about two hours later. Shau-be-nee reported that he was questioned as to the quantity of guns and ammunition the traders had here, which led him to think an attack was contemplated. Big Foot admitted he had joined the Winnebagoes to drive the whites from the country, urging Shau-be-nee to act with him, who replied that he would go home, call a council of his braves, and send an answer. There were here, at Chicago, of whites only about thirty able to bear arms. A council was called, which resulted in a resolution to send two or three to the Wabash for aid; three volunteers were called for this purpose, but no one seemed willing to go. I volunteered to go alone, Mrs. Helm, who was here at the massacre of 1812, objecting on the ground that I was the only one who had sufficient influence to command the *voyageurs* in case of attack; but it was finally decided that I should go. I started about four o'clock in the afternoon, and reached Danville the next afternoon, one hundred and twenty miles. Runners were immediately dispatched through settlements; and the second day one hundred mounted volunteers reported, and we left for Chicago, reaching there the seventh day from the time I left the fort. These volunteers remained, I think, about twenty-five days, when we received the news that the troops from Jefferson Barracks had reached the Upper Mississippi. The Winnebagoes, surprised at their arrival, got together and concluded a peace with the commanding officer, whose name I do not remember—think it was Atkinson.

CHICAGO, October, 1876.

No. 2.—BY WILLIAM HICKLING.

I have heard the late George E. Walker, of Ottawa, Illinois, and also the old Ottawa chief, Shab-o-nee, say, that at the time the troubles commenced in 1832, between Black Hawk's band of Sauks and Foxes, and the United States, that a number of the young Pottawattamie braves were desirous of taking the war path, and joining Black Hawk in his foray upon the frontier settlements of Illinois; and that they were only prevented from so doing by the active exertions and great influence of Billy Caldwell, Robinson and Shab-o-nee, then the principal chiefs of the united Pottawattamies and Ottawas. A small number of the young braves did actually join Black Hawk. These, however, were supposed to have been related by blood and marriage with the Sauks. Two of these young men, brothers, were accused of having been engaged with the band of Sauks in their murderous foray upon the settlements, of the Fox and Rock River valleys; and, at the close of the war Mr. Walker, before mentioned, who was then the sheriff of La Salle county, went alone to Black Hawk's camp in Iowa, and arrested these two young braves, on a charge of murder, and brought them to Ottawa for trial. Not having any court-house building at that time in La Salle county, the court was held in the open air, under the shady branches of a large tree, at that time standing on the south bank of the Illinois River, at Ottawa. The court appointed the late General James Turney to defend the Indians. For the want of sufficient evidence against them they were acquitted; and thus was the first sheriff of La Salle county saved from the disagreeable duty of an execution. It is said that, upon their release from custody, the Indians started quickly on a bee line for their homes, and in a few moments were lost to sight of those who were watching their exit.

In regard to Mr. Kingston's idea of a contemplated attack on Fort Dearborn by the young Pottawattamie braves in 1832, I must say that I never heard before that such a thing had been contemplated by them. The small body of Pottawattamie and Ottawa Indians who were raised in 1832 to operate against Black Hawk, included Robinson and Shab-o-nee as chiefs, and were commanded by George E. Walker, with the title of Captain. I do not believe that this force ever acted as an independent command; their employment was to carry expresses, and act as scouts, and at different times were under the orders of Generals Atkinson, Henry, Scott, and probably other commanders.

CHICAGO, *October, 1876.*

Personal Narrative.

BY JOHN T. DE LA RONDE.

My father, Louis Denys, Chevalier de La Ronde, was born at Detroit, Michigan, during the period when his father, Francis Paul Denys de La Ronde, an officer in the French service, was stationed there, several years prior to the final surrender of Canada and its dependencies to the English, in 1760. After the death of my grandmother, my grandfather returned to France, and was killed, with one of my uncles, at La Colle, in 1785, when General Blackstone lost his life.

My grandfather was the son of Louis Denys de La Ronde, an early commandant at Chegoimegon, on Lake Superior; and, returning to Quebec, he died there in consequence of wounds received in two different engagements.* One of my uncles, Philip Louis Denys de La Ronde, was killed at the fall of Quebec, September 13, 1759. He was a captain of marines, and served under Montcalm.†

After the death of my grand-father, my father, who was Colonel, and in service in the French army, remained in France till the battle of Waterloo. After the defeat of Napoleon, not wishing to live under the rule of Louis XVIII, he came to Canada with all his family, and was admitted a partner in the Northwest Company. He died soon after, and was buried in the Catholic Church of St. Anne, Montreal, May 12th, 1818.

I was born in Bordeaux, France, the 25th of February, 1802. After I left the College of Montreal, in 1816, I studied medicine under the direction of Dr. Robert Nelson V. Smith; remaining

*See *Ordonnances Nouvelle France*, ii., p. 373, section 1738.

†There was a La Ronde, probably Denys the elder, an officer at Louisburg, in 1733. Ensign Denys de La Ronde, evidently the younger, was sent to Chegoimegon, Lake Superior, in June, 1747; and ten years later, in July, 1757, was slightly wounded, while serving as Captain of French Grenadiers, at Ticonderoga. See *N. Y. Colonial Documents*, V. 970, x, 167, 1086. L. C. D.

with him, however, but a short time after my father's death. I had made the acquaintance of some clerks of the North-west Company, and, in 1819, engaged myself to that Company for the term of seven years. During this time, I went to London, England, as a witness in the dispute between the Hudson Bay Company and the North-west Company. These two Companies subsequently effected a compromise, and the business thereafter was carried on by the Hudson Bay Company, to whose service I was transferred. In 1826, my time of service having expired, I engaged for two years more.

After my time was out as clerk for the Hudson Bay Company, April tenth, 1828, I came to the straits of Sault St. Marie; thence across to the American side, where I met Roderick McKenzie and Joseph Cadott, who were coming up to Mackinaw; from thence to the Mississippi, to visit that region and enjoy the excitement of hunting. I came to Mackinaw in a small bark canoe, and thence to the Portage, in Wisconsin, now called Portage City, the twenty-ninth of May, 1828. There were at the Portage, a log-house and barn, which then formed a trading-post of the American Fur Company; and Pierre Pauquette and his family lived there. Pauquette was in charge of the post; he was then absent at Washington to assist in making a treaty between the Government and the Winnebago Indians. John Kinzie, the Sub-Agent, and Judge Doty, Cha-ge-ka-ka, the son of Cha-chip-ka-ka, or the War Eagle, and Black Wolf's son Dandy, called the Little Soldier, Yellow Thunder and his wife, and some others, went with him. The post was erected almost opposite where the mill was subsequently built on Fox River, and since burnt. There was another house where the Sub-Agent was living; and still two others, occupied by half-breeds; and on the other, or east side of Fox River, there was a nice house belonging to Francis Le Roy, son of Joseph Le Roy, of Green Bay. Francis Le Roy was married to Therese L'Ecuyer, a half breed woman; the house was built where the fort is now. He used to keep merchandise to trade with the Indians, and to transfer boats from the Fox to the Wisconsin River.

De-kau-ry, or Scha-chip-ka-ka, was principal chief of the Winnebagoes, often called by his countrymen Ko-no-koh De-kau-ry, meaning the eldest De-kau-ry. Scha-chip-ka-ka, was the son of Chou-ke-ka, called by the whites, Spoon De-kau-ry; and who was

the son of Sabrevoir De Carrie, corrupted into De-kau-ry, an officer in the French army in 1699, under De Boisbriant; and resigning his commission in 1729, became an Indian trader among the Winnebagoes, subsequently taking for a wife the head chief's sister, named Wa-ho-po-e-kau, or Glory of the Morning. After living with her seven or eight years, he left her, and their two sons, whom she refused to let him take away, but permitted him to take their daughter. De Carrie re-entered the army, and was mortally wounded at Quebec, April twenty-eighth, 1760, dying of his wounds at the Hospital at Montreal. His eldest son, Chou-ke-ka, or the Spoon or Ladle, was made a chief, and was quite* aged when he died at the Portage about 1816; and, at his request, was buried in a sitting posture, on the surface of the ground, with a small log structure over it, surrounded by a fence. I saw his burial place in 1828, when the red cedar posts, of which the fence was made, were yet undecayed. His widow died, two miles above Portage, about 1868, at a very advanced age. The old chief's sister, who had been taken by her father to Montreal, and educated there, was married to Laurent Fily, a Quebec merchant, whose son, of the same name, was long a clerk for Augustin Grignon, and is frequently mentioned in Grignon's Recollections.

Chou-ke-ka was succeeded by his son, Scha-chip-ka-ka, who had six brothers and five sisters. One of the brothers was called Ruch-ka-scha-ka, or White Pigeon, called by the whites Black De-kau-ry; another, Chou-me-ne-ka-ka, or Raisin De-kau-ry; another, Ko-ke-mau-ne-ka, or He-who-walks-between-two-Stars, or the Star-walker; another, Young De-kau-ry, called by the whites, on account of his trickish character, Rascal De-kau-ry; another, Waukon-ga-ko, or The Thunder Hearer; and the sixth, Ongs-ka-ka, or White Wolf, who died young. Of the sisters, three married Indian husbands; one married a trapper named Dennis De Riviere, and afterwards to Perrish Grignon; the other to John B. L'Ecuyer, the father of Madame Le Roy.

At the western end of the Portage, there was a warehouse built; and three houses where Perrish Grignon and his wife, sister of the chief De-kau-ry, were living; the second one was occupied by his son, Lavoie Grignon; the other one by J. B. L'Ecuyer. Mr. Le Roy

* In Grignon's Recollections, Chou-ke-ka's death is placed about 1808; but he lived to sign the treaty at St. Louis, June third, 1816, and probably died not long after his return
L. C. D.

was living near where Mr. O. P. Williams' house was subsequently located. He told me that Major Twiggs, of the Fifth regiment of infantry, required the place where his first house stood for post-purposes; for which, however, he paid him well.

From the Portage we went in June 1828, to the Mississippi. I had heard much about the Painted Rock, about twenty miles above the mouth of Black River; and while McKenzie and Cadott were looking for places to set their traps, I went to see the Calumet or Painted Rock. The Indians travel many hundred miles to obtain the red stone with which to make their pipes; and while they are on that rock, not one will draw a bow, or wield a hatchet, against his most deadly enemy. I was sitting under a projecting rock of one of those bluffs, when I saw an Indian advancing on horseback. I kept hid from his view that I might watch his motions; for I could see by his rigging of feathers, paint, and beard, that he was a chief of some tribe, which I judged to be the Sioux, from his long hair, nor was I mistaken. He was a powerful fellow, armed with his bow and arrow and shield; and his horse was as noble an animal as ever trod the prairies. When he arrived at the base of the bluff, he turned his horse loose, and walked upon the rock in silence for a few moments; his lips moved as if engaged in prayer, then taking a quantity of tobacco, he scattered it upon the rock. This ceremony being finished, he took a good smoke, and then commenced hammering upon the rock until he had knocked off a large piece, which he began to fashion into a pipe. I had just made up my mind to show myself, and make his acquaintance, when I saw another Indian coming rapidly on horseback towards the bluffs. Anxious to see how the two Indians would meet each other, I continued to remain concealed from their view; and then watching the new-comer, who advanced without slackening the speed of his horse, until he drew up to the foot of the same bluff where the other Indian was. Like the former, he turned his horse loose, took a portion of tobacco which he scattered upon the rock; and after having mumbled over his prayer, he filled his pipe, and proceeded to the spot where the other Indian was manufacturing a pipe. He quietly took a seat beside him; then lighted his pipe, and after drawing one or two puffs, handed it to the other, who, after a few whiffs, returned it to the owner. They seemed by their actions, to be on the best of terms, but as they did not speak together, I

became a little suspicious of their true feelings, and concluded I should see a little fun before their separation. I was not long kept in suspense, for the last fellow, having knocked off as much stone as he wanted, caught his horse and prepared to depart. He was not as large as the Sioux Indian, but he was splendidly dressed after the manner of the Pyeur or Pillager, Chippewa chief, and was armed like the Sioux with bow and arrow and shield. The Sioux when he saw the Pyeur or Pillager preparing to depart, made like preparations; and the two left the bluffs together, keeping company until they were about three hundred yards distance from the rock. Then I saw the Sioux keeping a little back, shot an arrow at the Pyeur, whom he missed. The Pyeur turning as quick as lightning was ready for the fray. They were both good horsemen; but the Pyeur understood how best to guard himself and his horse. He succeeded in killing the horse of his enemy, sent an arrow into the heart of the Sioux, killing him on the spot. I ran down the bluff as fast as I could; but before I came up to him, the Sioux was dead, scalped, and the Pyeur had mounted his horse and departed. I never learned the names of either of them.

I joined my partners. We wintered at the River St. Croix, and thence we went over to Canada. In the winter of 1832, I engaged myself as clerk to the American Fur Company; and, early in the spring, we came west with one hundred and ten hired men for the company. Some were destined for Lake Superior, and some for Missouri. We came to Mackinaw in boats, and I remained a few weeks at that place. Then I took my departure in the schooner *Nancy Dousman*. The passengers were, H. L. Dousman, clerk for the American Fur Company, Major De Quant, Madame Coursolle, and myself. When we left Mackinaw, in the night, there was a very heavy wind—so strong and rough, that I believe I saw the bottom of Lake Michigan. We reached Green Bay about two hours before daylight, and we were obliged to wait two days for the keel boats to come. Dousman started on horseback, and I took charge of the boat. We came to Kaukana, where there were two men of the name of Paul Ducharme, and a house belonging to Captain Augustin Grignon; and when we came to the place where is now the city of Oshkosh, there was a small log house where Charles Grignon was living; and about four miles above, Nex, son-in-law of Charles Grignon, was residing. About six or seven miles

above that, Captain Grignon was living; he had goods, and was trading with the Monomonee Indians. From there, we came to Lake Apuckaway, where there was a trader by the name of Luther Gleason, having a Winnebago woman for a wife. There was no house between Gleason's and the Portage.

The fort was beginning to look very respectable; and there was a nice frame-house for the Sub-Agent on the same side as the post of the American Fur Company. There was another house, where William Gourdain, the blacksmith, was living; and still another, occupied by Louis Managre. At the other end of the Portage, a little north of the Landing, Pierre Grignon resided, half-brother to Captain Grignon. In the summer, about the tenth or twelfth of July, I went with Pierre Pauquette, Kau-kish-ka-ka, or White Crow, commander of the Indians, Rascal De-kau-ry, Pa-nee-wah-sa-ka, or Pania Blanc, and a dozen other Winnebagoes, to the Fox and Sauk war. We joined Colonel Dodge, accompanied by a detachment of soldiers from the Portage, under Lieutenant Hooe,* perhaps the whole of his company. We went to Rock River, found the enemy's trail, and followed it to the Heights of Wisconsin; there we overtook Colonel Dodge and General Henry, and found the Indians. The battle began, on the twenty-first of July, at five or six o'clock in the afternoon; the rain setting in about the commencement of the battle, and did not stop till after a heavy fall, about eleven at night.

Pierre Pauquette, the interpreter, having received orders that we, the Indian party, should return to the Portage, we started off in the night, and arrived there in the morning. A few days after I went over to the village of Car-a-mau-nee, or the Counsellor of the Baraboo, a little north of where the present village of that name is located. I went and saw the Devil's Lake, which is a little south of the village of Baraboo. The Lake is surrounded by high bluffs; and I could not see the sun till about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and it would disappear from view about two or three o'clock, so hemmed in by bluffs is this romantic body of water. The Indians gave it the name of Holy Water, declaring that there is a spirit or Manitou that resides there. I saw a quantity of tobacco that the Indians had deposited there for the Manitou. The

* Alexander Seymour Hooe, of Virginia, was a cadet from 1823 to 1827, when he entered the army as a brevet second lieutenant; he became first lieutenant in 1833; a captain 1838; brevet major for gallant and distinguished conduct in the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, May 9, 1846; lost an arm in August following; died at Baton Rouge La., December 9, 1847. L. C. D.

French *voyageurs* denominated it the Devil's Lake, from the sound resembling hammering, and tinkling of a bell, that we hear all the time, and from the darkness of the place.

From there, I went to a Winnebago town, called the Little Sioux's village, perhaps three-fourths of a mile above the present village of Reedsburg; and thence I proceeded to the Lemonweir River—Ca-na-man-woi Sepe—which means a child, or affluent. I may mention what I learned from Penish Grignon, older than his half-brother Augustin Grignon, derived from his grand-father, Charles Langlade: That when Captain Moran defeated the Sauks and Foxes at the Butte des Morts, in the last century, they fled to what is now known as Sauk Prairie; and, when Moran heard of their new location, he drove them down the River, leaving a force there under an officer named Rabault, and from him, Rabault or Baraboo River received its name.

L'Espagnol, the Menomonee Chief, who served in the war of 1812-15, as mentioned in Grignon's Recollections, lived almost opposite where Mauston is now situated. Near there I met with Chaetar, who subsequently died at Turkey River, and One-Eyed De-kau-ry; they were bringing with them, as prisoners, the Prophet and Black Hawk, whom they had taken at the Big Dells, a little above the mouth of the Dell Creek. Black Hawk's camp was between two rocks, on the west side of the river, close to the water; the Prophet only was with him in his lodge, and they made no resistance when told that they were wanted. This camp was a mile and a half or two miles above Kilbourn City. Chaetar and One-Eyed De-kau-ry were going to take their prisoners to General John M. Street, the Winnebago Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien. This was some time pretty well along in August.

When I was stationed at Portage, Pauquette was interpreter, and used to pass the boats from Fox River to the Wisconsin, and take the goods in wagons. We had a man that was attacked with the cholera; I left a man to take care of him, and obtained medicine for him from the doctor. I left him in an old house where no one was living; and the others of my party accompanied me to Prairie du Chien. Sometime in November there arrived at the Portage, from Mackinaw, a boat with a large number of soldiers; some destined for Prairie du Chien, and others for St. Peters, on the Mississippi. Eighty-nine of them were left at the Portage. The captain asked me to furnish him a guide to go down the Wisconsin. I

supplied him one, and the next morning Pierre Pauquette passed the boat and their goods over the Portage. Pauquette had three yoke of oxen to drag the boat from one river to the other. He was the strongest man I ever saw. When he had drawn the boat about a rod from the River with the oxen, one of the oxen broke his bow, and Pauquette sent a man named Bareau to get another. As he thought he was a long time in procuring it, he took the yoke against his shoulder, and told the teamster to give the whip to the oxen; and Pauquette kept up his end of the yoke across the Portage, where the mud was about knee-deep.

On the twenty-sixth of November, a bark canoe passed the Portage, conducted by four men. Judge Doty, afterwards Governor, and Ebenezer Childs, sheriff of Green Bay, took passage in it. As I had occasion to go down the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien, on business, I concluded to accompany them. I went to the landing place on the Wisconsin, on the west side of the Portage, where there was a warehouse belonging to Captain Daniel Whitney. The same day the Indians were receiving provisions from the Government; and among them was Chas-ka-ka, or White Ox, whose son had been killed by another Indian two days before. The murderer happened to be there, when the oldest son of White Ox took his rifle and shot the fellow, the ball passing through his stomach, and out a little above the right shoulder. The wounded Indian started on a run from the place where he was shot, near the warehouse, and near the Fox River bridge. I met him about half-way between the two Rivers. He was making wads in his mouth, and with them plugging up the holes made by the rifle-ball; but the blood would every now and then force out the wads. He succeeded in reaching the other end of the Portage, near Whitney's warehouse, where his lodge was; and, as he reached there, he dropped dead.

On the twenty-second of December, Abraham Godin was brought to our post by a Winnebago Indian named Big Fox. Godin was one of the hired men I had engaged in Montreal for the American Fur Company. He had run away, near the mouth of the Wisconsin, from Mr. Rouseaux, the clerk of the Company. He was lost twenty-two days. He said that he had intended to go to St. Louis. He had with him his gun, and some bags containing his clothes, and a blanket. When he first missed his road, he lived well for a time; but after his ammunition became exhausted he began to suffer from starvation. He lived upon birds sometimes; and some

days he had nothing whatever. He came to a lake and found dead fish; and soon reached another lake where the city of Madison now stands. From there he walked two days without food; and then, fortunately, he found the carcass of a deer that the wolves had left, from which he got a supply, such as it was, that lasted him for two days. He then came across an Indian trail, which he followed, without knowing where it would lead him. He discovered a panther approaching him, which gave him chase, obliging him to climb a tree for safety. The panther, unable to ascend, prowled around the tree for about half a day, and finally disappeared. Godin at length ventured from his lofty position, and, failing to find the trail that he had left, he took his course through the woods. Reaching a little creek, he followed it. It was now three days since he had eaten anything; the bottoms of his feet were covered with blisters. He came to a deserted Indian camp, where there was an old lodge made of grass and branches, and slept there. The next morning it was impossible for him to walk, his feet were so swelled and blistered, and he was well nigh starved. He dragged himself out, picked up some branches, to cover his body, and commended himself to the mercy of God, and laid down to die. Sleep overcame his exhausted nature, nor did he know how long he remained in that condition. When he awoke, he saw an old Indian that was administering to him refreshment with a wooden spoon. The Indian was Big Fox, who remained faithfully with him for two days; permitting him to eat only a little at a time, but very often of venison. He made some medicine for his feet, then left him, showing him where there was some venison. When Godin saw the Indian going off he felt very bad, thinking he was about to abandon him to his fate; but he came back, bringing a horse for him to ride, and conveyed him to his lodge on Fox Lake—and from this Indian the Lake took its name. As soon as Godin's feet got well, Big Fox brought him to us at Portage. Godin had given all the property he had to the Indian; but Big Fox returned to him all his clothes, retaining for himself the blanket and the gun for his trouble. When the Indian brought him to us, I did not know him at all; his long beard and hair added not a little to his haggard appearance. He asked me if I was willing to receive him to finish his time, according to agreement; which I did, and he never again undertook to run away.

In the summer of 1834, I went up to the head of the Lemonweir to establish a trading post for the winter. There were a good many Winnebagoes wintering there. On my way up, about the Seven Mile Creek, at the top of the bluff, I saw, at a considerable distance, an object which I took to be a deer; but so far away that I was not certain about it. Leaving my horse at the foot of the bluff, I took my rifle and went up; but in some places, where there was sand, I saw the track of a man's feet, which I judged was a white man's, as when the white man walks he throws his feet outwards, while the Indian turns his quite the other way.

After I got upon the top of the bluff, I saw a man, his clothes all in rags, looking toward the prairie. He heard me walking, turned his head and saw me, then jumped up and ran off. I discovered that he was afraid, and hallooed to him in French; but he did not answer me and kept on running. I then called to him in English to stop, with assurances that I was not going to hurt him. He finally stopped and walked up to me; informing me that he came from the Mississippi; that he had been hired to cut cord-wood near about Coon Channel, on the Mississippi, for Judge Lockwood, of Prairie du Chien. That, starting with his gun to hunt partridges, about the fourth of May, he got lost. He kept on walking till he came to a little creek that he followed for a long time in the direction that he thought would take him to the Mississippi; he came across an Indian trail that he lost sight of in the woods. He said that he had kept his gun a long time after he had used up all his ammunition; but fatigue and weakness at length obliged him to throw it away. He said that he had often heard the report of guns, but was afraid it proceeded from the Indians; and that he would rather die in the woods of starvation, than be butchered by the savages. On one occasion he came to a place where he saw, at a distance, three Indians; and he ran with all his might in the woods, thinking every moment they were after him, and if overtaken his life would pay the forfeit. After his shoes and clothes were worn out, he came to a lodge; he was so hungry and feeble that he resolved to venture in; but it was empty, the owner having evidently gone off to hunt. He found plenty to eat of all kinds of meat, and indulged himself very heartily; after which he went to sleep, and dreamed very bad dreams, causing him to get up earlier than he otherwise would have done. Taking a pair of moccasins, a pair of

buckskin leggings, a blanket, as much venison as he could conveniently carry, a pouch full of tobacco, a flint and steel, some punk, and a pipe, he took his departure. About twenty days after he found a dead Indian in the woods, which circumstance greatly increased his fears lest the Indians should think, if they came across him, that he had caused his death. He had with him a large butcher-knife; and he told me that had he been chased by an Indian he would have cut his own throat rather than to have been taken. He said that he had not lived very well, having subsisted on berries from about the twenty-fifth of June to the time I found him. He was lost one hundred and eighty days. When I found him he had scarcely the semblance of a human being. I made him ride behind me; and after visiting the place where I proposed establishing my trading-post, I took him to Portage. He told me his name was Dodge, and he desired to go to Green Bay. I never saw or heard anything of him afterwards.

By the treaty made in 1832, at Fort Armstrong, by the Winnebagoes, Generals Scott and Atkinson were the United States Commissioners. The Indians agreed to cultivate some of their lands, and the Government was to aid and instruct them in the effort. Pierre Pauquette was employed by the Government to attend to the matter. Eight yoke of oxen, a plow, a drag, and all the tools necessary for farming were furnished for the purpose. Pauquette chose for the Indians the place that used to be called Black Earth, now known as the Indian farm, in the town of Caledonia, Columbia county. The first plowing that was done there was on the tenth day of June, 1835.

At a subsequent treaty, made in 1837, between the United States and the Winnebagoes, ratified by Congress the following year, the Indians sold all their lands they had east of the Mississippi. Captain Gideon Low, formerly of the fifth regiment of infantry, located at Portage City, and made a claim on the same piece of land where the Indians had formerly their experimental farm. He employed Michael Arquette as farmer; then Francis Provoncil, and still later his son-in-law Temple, and many others. Captain Low entered the land when it came into market, and Robert Tennant was the last man that managed this Indian farm. Low's heirs sold out to Mr. McKenzie, who now resides there.

In 1836, the Indians had the misfortune of losing the best of

their chiefs, Scha-chip-ka-ka, or De-kau-ry. His death occurred April 20, at the age of ninety, at his village—the locality now known as the Caffrey place, in the town of Caledonia, at the foot of the bluff, between the Wisconsin and Baraboo Rivers. The school house of district number five, now occupies the spot where the old chief died. De-kau-ry's town contained over one hundred lodges, and was the largest of the Winnebago villages. Before he died, De-kau-ry called the Catholic priest, Mr. Vanderbrook, who was at the Portage at the time, by whom he was baptised, according to Catholic rites, the day of his death, and was buried in their cemetery near the present Court House in Portage City; and since the abandonment of that burial ground, the old chiefs resting place cannot be identified. He was succeeded by his son, called by the whites Little De-kau-ry, whose Indian name was Cha-ge-ka-ka; and he did not long survive, dying six months after his father. He was succeeded by his brother, Ho-pe-ne-scha-ka, or White French. On the seventeenth of October, Governor Dodge came to Portage, to hold a council with the Indians; H. L. Dousman and Joseph Brisbois came also. Pierre Pauquette acted as interpreter. The result of the council was, advising the Winnebagoes to sell their lands east of the Mississippi. The Indians could not agree, and the matter was postponed until the next year, and a treaty for the sale of lands was abandoned, they preferring an annuity, and Pierre Pauquette demanded for them twenty-one boxes of money—\$21,000; declaring that that was the amount due him from the Indians for goods and provisions advanced to them.

Man-ze-mon-e-ka, a son of one of the chiefs of the Rock River band, residing a mile or two above the present locality of Watertown, named Wau-kon-ge-we-ka, or Whirling Thunder, or One-who-walks-on-the-iron, objected on the ground that he belonged to the Rock River band, and had received no provisions or goods from Pauquette, desiring that that the money should be divided between the several bands, then those who were indebted to Pauquette, might pay him if they chose; as for himself, or his band, they had their own debts to pay to the traders at Rock River. The result was, that the council dissolved without coming to a decision.

Pauquette crossed the Wisconsin, going to a saloon where Carpenter's house now stands, and there indulged in drinking. Man-

ze-mon-e-ka, who had spoken so frankly in the council, also happened there, when Pauquette whipped him. I came there at the time, and with the help of others rescued the Indian from Pauquette. The chief retired to the other end of the Portage, near where the house of Henry Merrell once stood, on Fox River; Pauquette followed him there and whipped him again. Satterlee Clark and I took the Indian away from him again, who was by this time badly bruised. He went home, which was near where Armstrong's brick-yard now is; and Pauquette went to the old post of the American Fur Company near the grist-mill; and while on his way home, between one and two o'clock in the morning, he stopped at my place. I was then living in the house that used to belong to Francis Le Roy, near where O. P. Williams' house stood before it was burnt. I did all that I could to persuade him to stay with me that night, seeing that he was under the influence of liquor; but he would go on—his brother-in-law, Touissant St. Huges, and William Powell, (not Captain William Powell, of Butte des Morts,) from Green Lake, were with him. There were some Indians drinking at the house of Paul Grignon—the same house now used for a stable by O. P. Williams. Among these Indians were Black Wolf and his son, Rascal De-kau-ry, the Elk, Big Thunder, and others.

When Pierre Pauquette arrived there, he whipped Black Wolf; Rascal De-kau-ry ran away north from where they were, right in the direction of the lodge of Man-ze-mon-e-ka, whom Pauquette had beaten the preceding day. On arriving at the chief's cabin, he informed him that Pauquette was coming to whip him again. Man-ze-mon-e-ka emerged from his lodge and told Pauquette very pointedly not to come any farther! that he had whipped him twice the day before without a cause, and if he advanced another step he was a dead man. Pauquette, putting his hand to his breast, said, "fire if you are brave," when Man-ze-mon-e-ka shot, and Pauquette fell. William Powell was close to Pauquette at the time, and as soon as I heard the report of the gun I ran for the spot as fast as I could. It was close to where I was living. I met William Powell running towards the fort, and asked him what was the matter; but he was going so fast that he did not hear me. I went where Pauquette was, took his hand, which was warm, and asked him if he knew me to press my hand; but he was dead. The ball had passed through his heart. Old Crelie, father-in-law to Pau-

quette, wanted to carry him home, but I would not allow him to touch him until the jury came. William Powell arrived there with Lieutenant Hooe, Sergeant Pollinger, ten private soldiers, Satterlee Clark, and, I believe, Henry Merrell. Lieutenant Hooe refused to go into the lodge to take the Indian; the chief, White French, went and brought him out, when they took him across in a scow; the body of Pauquette being also taken over. They asked Man-ze-mon-e-ka if he shot Pauquette, which he frankly acknowledged. I really believe that he thought he was going to be killed on the spot, as he sang his death song. He was taken to the garrison, kept in strict confinement, and afterwards conveyed to Green Bay, where he was tried by regular authority, and finally acquitted it being determined on a second trial that he had killed Pauquette in self-defence.

This part of Wisconsin at the Portage, was considered to be part of Brown county. Daniel Whitney, of Green Bay had obtained a permit from the War Department to erect a saw-mill, and cut pine logs on the Wisconsin, within the territory of the Indians. He built the first saw-mill at Whitney's Rapids, a little below Point Bausse in 1831 and 1832. Amable Grignon and Lieutenant Marcy* had also obtained the privilege to build a saw-mill at Grignon's Rapids in 1836. These were the first saw-mills on the Wisconsin River.

In 1836, by the treaty with the Menomonee Indians at Cedar Point, on Fox River, held by Governor Henry Dodge, the Indian title was extinguished in this part of the country, and the Upper Wisconsin region, six miles wide from Point Bausse for forty miles up the River. This was designed to open the route to the lumbermen; the high price and the large demand for lumber hurried the business. The River was explored from Point Bausse to Big Bull Falls that year; and no time was lost in the occupation and claim of the best localities. Messrs. Bloomer and Strong, and George Cline took possession of the Grand Rapids; Abraham Brawley commenced at Mill Creek; Parry and Veeder on the same stream;

* Randolph B. Marcy, born in Massachusetts about 1811, entered West Point in 1828, and the army as a Second Lieutenant in 1832, serving on frontier duty during the Black Hawk war; at Fort Howard in 1833-37, when he was promoted to First Lieutenant; at Fort Winnebago in 1837-40; a captain in 1846; in active service during the Mexican War, and in constant frontier duty for many years; was Chief of Staff, under his son-in-law Gen. McClellan, in 1861-62; attaining to the rank of Inspector General, and Brevet Brigadier General in the Army. He has written several valuable works, illustrative of frontier life and service.

Conant and Campbell occupied Conant's Rapids, while Harper and McCree laid claim to several other points in 1837.

In the year 1839, John L. Moore occupied the Little Bull Falls and George Steele the Big Bull Falls, so that all that region was in the possession of the lumbermen before the year 1840. In 1839 the Cedar Point section, three miles wide, on that River, was ordered to be reported to the Surveyor-General, at Dubuque. Joshua Hathaway, of Milwaukee, was appointed a surveyor, and surveyed the Upper Wisconsin region. All the land in that section of country was offered at public sale at Mineral Point from 1840 to 1845. The saw-mills increased with great rapidity, villages and towns sprang up, so that when Mr. W. Owen and his party passed Portage in 1847, coming down from the Upper Wisconsin, the population at Wausau was estimated at three hundred and fifty, and that of the Upper Wisconsin country at more than a thousand. The Wisconsin Pinery soon became extensively known throughout all the North-west, and it furnished the lumber needful for the improvement and habitation of the immense prairies of Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri.

In 1837, Leon Braux, who had a half-breed Winnebago woman named Mariette Grignon, daughter of Pierre Grignon, obtained permission to open a farm on the south side of the Baraboo, on the bluff where Moses Pauquette now lives. It was the second farm improved in Caledonia. In the same year Silas Walsworth came to Portage on board a steam-boat, the name of which I forget. Andrew Dunn, a man of the name of Baker, and Hugh McFarlane arrived the same year. The Indians were that year, 1837, invited to go to Washington to sell the remainder of their lands east of the Mississippi. One-Eyed De-kau-ry,* Little De-kau-ry, Winno-sheek, Waukon De-kau-ry, and six other chiefs, complied with his request, taking me with them; and ceded to the Government their remaining lands, but reserved the privilege of occupying them until 1840, and receive their annuity at Portage until that time. This did not prevent the whites from making claims on the ceded lands.

I had a trading-post at To-kau-nee's Village, where Mauston is now situated, then a small village of only five or six wig-wams, named after its chief, a mixed blood of Winnebago and Menomonee, though his people were called Winnebagoes.

* Wadge-hut-ta-kaw, or the Big Canoe, commonly called One-Eyed De-kau-ry, son of Cha-post-ka-kaw, or the Buzzard, and grand-son of the French De-kau-ry, died at the Channel, Monroe County, Wisconsin, in August, 1864, at a very advanced age. L. C. D.

Abraham Wood was keeping a grog shop a little below Henry Carpenter's house, on the Wisconsin. An Indian came there to get some liquor by force, with his knife in his hand. Wood was a very strong man, and pushed old Vane Blanc, the Indian, and struck him on the head with a stick he had in his hand, breaking the skull, he falling dead. The Indians collected around the house to butcher him in their own way. I made myself a road through them to Wood's house for his protection. Early in the morning of the next day, I sent Wood to give himself up to Henry Merrell, who was then a justice of the peace; and he told me that Merrell advised him to run off. Merrell did, however, issue a warrant at the request of the Sub-Agent, Thomas Boy, which was served by Satterlee Clark, who overtook Wood at Asa Springer's, and brought him back to the Portage. He was sent to Green Bay for trial, but the grand jury did not find a bill against him.

Wood, together with Willis Rowan, went and made a claim on the Baraboo, in the fall of 1840; they built a saw-mill just at the upper end of Baraboo village. They supplied the lumber that was used in building up the place; and they rafted lumber down the River, which is so crooked that it caused them a good deal of fatigue and trouble to reach the Wisconsin. The same winter, I made up some square timber on the Lemonweir River near my trading post. I took the mill-site just where the town of Mauston now stands. I am the first person who tried to take square timber from the Lemonweir; and was the first, in the same year, that undertook to make a wagon road from Portage to Lemonweir, and thence to La Crosse, where is now the city of La Crosse. At that time there was but one trading house at La Crosse, and that belonged to the American Fur Company.

Edward Pezenne, and two or three men with him, came to the Portage in the summer of 1836. Near the end of June, I went to the Four Lakes, where the city of Madison now stands, to trade some red deer skins. I had with me Simon L'Ecuyer, Pierre and John Le Roy. We found there, A. Godin, Oliver Arimell, his squaw and three or four children, and Michael St. Cyr—Aimell and St. Cyr used to get goods from traders at Portage; and besides these, there were Charles Jalefoux and Joe Peltier, engaged in hunting and fishing. We met together, about the fourth of July, at the Lake; they had venison and fish, and we had flour, pork, tea, coffee, sugar,

and whisky. John Le Roy had his violin, and we had a great feast; I believe we were the first to celebrate the fourth at Madison. I do not remember that as many white men had ever met there before.

In the spring of 1838, Martin Rowney, a discharged soldier, who had been trading with the Indians on the Puckaway Lake, came back to the Portage, and had a spree for two weeks or more. I do not know whether he was tired of drinking, or wanted to break off; but he took an oath that he would not drink another drop of liquor as long as he lived. He was living with me in a house occupied by myself and Walsworth, a little below Carpenter's house. He slept in the same room that I did. He awoke up in the night with terror, jumped close to my bed, and told me that the devil wanted to take him away. I pushed him with force, and told him that if the devil had him, he had no business with me. He began to cry and lament over his condition, keeping it up some time. When tendered some liquor in the morning, he declined it, saying he had sworn not to drink any more, and he would rather die than taste it. I had toast and strong tea made for him at breakfast; he barely tasted the bread, but drank two cups of tea, and appeared much better. He told me he had an idea of going to Madison to take a lot there, as it seemed a point of some promise. He left us about eight or nine o'clock; and about eleven or twelve, Smith, the mail-carrier, told us that he saw a man four or five miles up the road crying, and appeared to be out of his mind. I started in company with J. Walsworth, Laront, Parin Carpenter, and old man Rowan; we found the track about half a mile north of Rocky Run; there was a little island surrounded by sand; we measured it all around, and I found it twenty-five and a half feet on either side to where any trees or grass grew. On that patch of grass, thus surrounded, we found his coat, vest, pants, hat and other clothing, but no trace of himself. In his pocket there was a pocket-book containing some memorandum papers, and several dollars in money. We took all his things and brought them home. We met Captain Low, and reported to him the sad story; he told us to go and get some soldiers to aid us in making a further search. I engaged fifteen Indians, whom I promised to pay well, to find him dead or alive. Captain Low came with twelve soldiers, and ten or twelve citizens joined in the search; which, with a brief intermission, was kept up till the

close of the following day; but no clue was found of him, and nothing was ever heard of him afterwards. I knew him to be very clumsy, not being able to jump three feet to save his life, and what became of him was a mystery.

During that summer, I opened a farm in Caledonia, where Thomas Prescott now lives; it was the third farm put in cultivation in that township. In the fall of that year, John Baptiste Dubay improved a farm on the bluff, a little north of G. Geyman. In 1840, Thomas Riley improved a farm, or made a claim, where John Corridon lives; Thomas Robertson, one in Caledonia in 1840-41, on the bank of the Wisconsin River, which Wardrop owns now. In 1841, Henry Lewis made a claim where Patrick Skerritt now lives.

In 1840, the troops came to Portage to remove the Winnebago Indians, a part of the eighth regiment of infantry under the command of Colonel Worth, and a part of the fifth regiment of infantry, under General Brooke, with General Atkinson as commander in chief. There were three interpreters employed by the Government, Antoine Grignon, Pierre Meneg, and myself. Meneg was sent after Yellow Thunder and Black Wolf's son, inviting them to Portage to get provisions; but instead of that, as soon as they arrived, they were put into the guard-house, with ball and chain, which hurt the feelings of the Indians very much, as they had done no harm to the Government. The General had understood that they were going to revolt, refusing to emigrate, according to treaty stipulations; but as soon as Governor Dodge came here, they were released. They all promised faithfully to be at Portage ready for removal in three days; and they were all there the second day.

There were two large boats in which to take down such of the Indians as had no canoes. Antoine Grignon and Pierre Meneg went down with the boats. I was kept here by the order of General Atkinson, at the suggestion of General Brady, to assist the dragoons commanded by Captain Sumner,* and Lieutenants Mc-

* Edwin V. Sumner was born in Boston, Mass., in January, 1796, spending his early life in mercantile establishments, and entering the army as a Second Lieutenant in 1819; became First Lieutenant in 1823, and served in the Black Hawk war. He was promoted to a Captaincy of Dragoons in 1833, and a Major in 1846; he led the famous cavalry charge at Cerro Gordo, in April, 1847, in which he was wounded, and was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel; and distinguished himself at Contreras, Cherubusco, and Molino del Rey; in the latter, commanding the whole cavalry force, and holding 5,000 Mexican lancers in check, for which he was brevetted Colonel. He was subsequently made Lieutenant-Colonel of Dragoons; Military Governor of New Mexico; and, in 1857, led a successful expedition against the Cheyennes, whom he defeated at Solomon's Fork of Kansas River. He was made first a Brigadier General, and then a Major General of Volunteers; and a brevet Ma-

Crate† and Steele.‡ We went down to Rock River to look for Mas-i-ma-ni-ka-ka; from there we went to Madison, and thence to Fox River. We picked up two hundred and fifty Indians, men, women and children, and we took them down to Prairie du Chien. Before we got there, at the head of the Kickapoo River, we came to three Indian wigwams. The Captain directed me to order the Indians to break up their camp, and come along with him. Two old women, sisters of Black Wolf, and another one, came up, throwing themselves on their knees, crying and beseeching Captain Sumner to kill them; that they were old, and would rather die, and be buried with their fathers mothers and children, than be taken away; and that they were ready to receive their death blows. Captain Sumner had pity on them, and permitted them to stay where they were, and left three young Indians to hunt for them.

A little further on, we came to the camp of Ke-ji-que-we-ka and others; when they were told by the captain, through me, to break up their camp, and put their things in the wagon, and come along. After they had thus deposited their little property, they started south from where we were. The Captain bade me to ask them where they were going? They said they were going to bid good bye to their fathers, mothers, and children. The Captain directed me to go with them, and watch them; and we found them on their knees, kissing the ground, and crying very loud, where their relations were buried. This touched the Captain's feelings, and he exclaimed "Good God! What harm could those poor Indians do among the rocks!"

I was employed by the Indian department as interpreter, at the time of the removal of the Indians from the Portage to Turkey River, after the payment was made. It was late in the fall. I wintered at Prairie du Chien; and in the spring of 1841, came back to Caledonia to improve my land. In 1842, James Wilson came

Major General in the regular army, in May, 1862. He commanded the left wing of the army at the siege of Yorktown; was in all the battles of the Peninsula, and twice wounded. He was again wounded at Antietam; and at Fredericksburg, in December, 1862, he commanded the right grand division of the army. He died at Syracuse, N. Y., March 21, 1863. L. C. D.

† Thomas McCrate, a native of Maine, was a cadet from 1832 to 1836, when he entered the army as a Second Lieutenant of Dragoons, serving on the frontiers, and at Fort Crawford, in 1840-41, and subsequently on the frontiers, till his health failing him, when he retired on sick leave, dying at Boston, Sept. 18, 1845, at the age of thirty. L. C. D.

‡ William Steele, of New York, was a cadet from 1836 to 1840, when he joined the army in the Dragoons, as Second Lieutenant, and for good conduct in various battles in the Mexican war, was brevetted Captain, and from 1848 to 1861, was much engaged on the frontiers against the Indians. In May, 1861, he resigned, and joined the Confederate forces, and survived the war. L. C. D.

with his family, and brought with him Thomas Robertson and family. Wilson made a claim in Caledonia, opposite Dekorra.

In 1844, Captain Sumner came here again with the dragoons, and sent for me to aid him in hunting in the woods after Dandy, the Winnebago chief. We found him at the head of the Baraboo, and the Captain made him ride on horseback, and fastened his legs with ox-chains under the horses' belly, when he demanded to be conducted to Governor Dodge. This was granted, and he was taken to Mineral Point. Governor Dodge asked him what he wanted of him, after having given so much trouble to the Government? He said he wanted to talk with him in council, which request was granted. Then Dandy took a Bible from his bosom, and asked the Governor, through me, if it was a good book? The Governor was surprised to see a Bible in the hands of an Indian, and bade me inquire where he got it. Dandy answered, that if the Governor would be so good as to answer his question, he would render an account of all he would like to know. Then the Governor told him that it was a good book—that he could never have a better one in his hand. "Then," said Dandy, "if a man would do all that was in that book, could any more be required of him?" The Governor said no. "Well," said dandy, "look that book all through, and if you find in it that Dandy ought to be removed by the Government to Turkey River, then I will go right off; but if you do not find it, I will never go there to stay." The Governor gave him an answer to the effect that his trick had no effect. He was then replaced on the horse, chained up again, and taken to Prairie du Chien.

The chain had so blistered his legs and feet that it was two or three weeks before he was able to walk. Some time after an order came from Turkey River to send Dandy there, He had been put in charge of a corporal at Fort Crawford, who was obliged to carry Dandy on his back when he had occasion to be moved. After the order was given to the corporal to take his prisoner to Turkey River, he procured a buggy, and drove it to the Fort gate, carried Dandy on his back to the vehicle, and then went back into the Fort to get his whip. He thought that the prisoner was not able to run away, as he could not walk. But as soon as the corporal was out of sight, Dandy jumped from the buggy and took his course toward the bluffs at a full run. When the corporal returned, find-

ing his prisoner gone, he went after him; but failed to overtake him. The corporal swore that if he ever saw Dandy again he would kill him, as he had made him so much trouble in carrying him about from place to place, and then to play him such a bad trick. That was the last time the military ever went after Dandy; and the good old chief lived many a year thereafter to recount his exploits. Like the most of his people, he was a great beggar, and dearly loved the "fire-water" of the whites. He died at Peten Well, near Neenah, where he and his family were encamped, in June, 1870, at about the age of seventy-seven years.*

*Hon. J. T. Kingston furnishes this date of Dandy's death, and his age, derived from his band of Winnebagoes. "Peten Well," adds Mr. Kingston, "is an isolated rocky peak, two hundred and fifty-five feet above the surface of the River, immediately on the west bank of the Wisconsin, and situated on section nine, town eighteen north, range four east." Owen, in his Geological Report, says: "It is the most elevated of all the isolated peaks measured on this part of the Wisconsin, being two hundred and fifty-five feet above the River. Its east face is nearly perpendicular; on the west side side is a very steep slope, one hundred and sixty feet above the surface of the plain, thickly strewn with immense blocks of sandstone. The north side is worn into several subordinate peaks, but little inferior in height to the main mass, being about two hundred feet above a creek that flows near their base."

L. C. D.

Pioneer Life in Wisconsin.

BY HON. HENRY MERRELL.

Mr. Merrell, the writer of the following narrative, was born in Utica, N. Y., August 7, 1804, and settled at old Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, in 1834. He was soon after appointed post-master there, holding the office for twelve years. He was long engaged as an enterprising merchant; and, on the adoption of the State Constitution, he was chosen as a member to represent his district in the first State Senate, serving for the years 1848 and 1849; largely contributing by his sterling good sense in preparing and enacting the necessary legislation for the new State organization. At one time he was much talked of for Governor, but he was not the active politician to scheme for place and preferment. Though continuing to reside at Fort Winnebago, he was, for several years, extensively engaged in the manufacture of threshing machines and other farming implements at La Crosse.

On the sixth of May, 1876, Mr. Merrell died at his residence at Fort Winnebago, after a few days illness, from heart disease. He left a competency for his family, and devised a thousand dollars to the Episcopal church of Portage, of which he was a member.

His amiability and cheerfulness of character, and his active sympathy in every good and charitable work, endeared him to his friends and the community where he so long resided. His name was intimately interwoven with the early settlers and pioneers of Wisconsin, by all of whom he was respected and esteemed. He took a becoming pride in the growth and prosperity of the State, and in all its noble institutions—and among them, the State Historical Society, whose rooms he always visited when in Madison; and to whose collections he made the valuable contribution which follows, designing yet another, which he did not live to prepare, on the Indians, their chiefs, incidents, and Aboriginal geographical nomenclature of Wisconsin.

“And thus,” says the *Portage Register*, “has passed away another of that noble band of pioneers who came to Wisconsin in the vigor of its manhood, at a period before a majority of its present inhabitants were born, and when it was a howling wilderness, the savage and the wild beast holding undisputed sway in its forests, and over its prairies. During his long residence here, he always commanded the greatest respect of all his acquaintances, and departs from among them, after a busy life, at a ripe old age, without a blemish on his record, and universally regretted.”

L. C. D.

MR. MERRELL'S NARRATIVE.

Born and brought up to the age of fifteen in Utica, New York, I moved with my father's family to Sackett's Harbor, in that State, in 1819, where I lived, with the exception of two years, until the spring of 1834, when it was proposed to me to remove to Fort Winnebago, and carry on the Sutler's business, and by the advice of Col. Cummings, Captains Clitz and Bradley,* I decided upon going. Capt. Bradley had been through from Prairie du Chien *via* the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers, to Green Bay at an early date, stopping and making the portage at Fort Winnebago. Col. Cummings was also in Wisconsin at an early period, visiting Milwaukee, when Solomon Juneau was the only trader and resident there, and from them I obtained valuable information, they being delighted with the country.

In April of 1834, I made arrangements, going to New York, purchasing goods, and shipping them to Fort Winnebago, Wisconsin, via Buffalo, then returned to Sacket's Harbor, bidding my friends good bye, who thought I was going to the jumping-off place, as some expressed it; and in company with Mr. J. L. Huntington, who was going out with me as clerk, started for Buffalo, meeting my goods there; but found I could not ship them farther than Detroit by steam, so shipped them on board the Pennsylvania, and started out on a beautiful day, the Lake calm and smooth; but before we got to Erie, Pennsylvania, the wind rose and blew fresh. We stopped a short time, and started for Cleveland, the wind increasing, which made many sick ones, but we stood it without any trouble. The next morning when I went on deck, I found the land on the wrong side of us, and at first concluded the wind had blowed us on the Canada shore; but on enquiry was told

* Of these three army officers, early visitors of Wisconsin, Col. Alexander Cummings was a native of Pennsylvania, entering the army in 1808, serving as captain during the war of 1812, a major in 1819, a lieutenant-colonel in 1828, and full colonel in 1839. He died in New York City, January 31, 1842.

John Clitz, a native of New York, entered the service in March, 1814, distinguishing himself at the sortie of Fort Erie, in September of that year; rose to the rank of captain, dying November 6, 1836, while in command of Mackinaw.

John Bradley was first a sergeant-major, second lieutenant in 1820, assistant quartermaster from 1826 to 1830, captain in 1834, resigned and retired from the service in 1839.

we were running back to Erie, having broken a shaft. When we arrived there, I concluded to take the stage for Cleveland, as I had got to stop there to purchase supplies of provisions, etc. The Captain told me he would be there before me, but I hardly thought so; but when I got to Cleveland I found the steamer had passed. I found many old acquaintances here, and was much pleased with the town site. Getting through my business I took boat for Detroit, arriving there the seventh of June. I found this a pleasant place, and should think one which will become an important point eventually. Here I also found many old acquaintances, General Brady, Lieutenant Backus, and others. This place is an old settlement; I am told, it was settled before Philadelphia, and is so well known I need not attempt a description of it. In improving, many old relics were found. In digging for the foundation of the Presbyterian Church, many bodies disinterred, no one knowing when they were buried; all of them had been tomahawked. The landlord called my attention to a tombstone, standing beside the house, which he said was dug up in the alley by his house, with the following inscription: "Here lyes the body of John Lewis Page, Ensign in the 31st regiment of foot who died the eighth of May, 1770;" the stone is about two feet long and evidently executed by some inexperienced hand.

As there was no certainty of a steamer going to the Upper Lakes, I shipped my goods on board a small schooner, the Commodore Lawrence, Captain Nelson, master, and started the eleventh of June for Green Bay, where we arrived on the eighteenth at evening, or rather at the mouth of the River, and came to anchor as the wind died away. Soon after a row boat approached with Captain Cruger and Doctor Worrel in it from Fort Howard. They were in hopes we had a mail on board, but we not knowing their necessities in this far off world, had not thought of it. They kindly offered me a ride up town which I gladly accepted. When they had landed me at Navarnio, now Green Bay, they told me to go up the street until I came to a store with a cupola on top, and adjoining Judge Arndt lived, who accommodated strangers, as there was no public house in the place. I called and got into very good quarters. Here I met Judge David Irwin, a Judge of the Territory, one of the executive lights, sent from the East to decide upon the law and evidence among the benighted inhabitants of this far-off and wild country

He was boarding with Judge Arndt. I was told that three years before, there was but one house in the place. Now there are eight or ten stores, two large public houses not yet opened, and many comfortable dwellings. Previously all the business was done at Shanty Town, two or three miles further up the River, and it was not thought possible to build a town on the present site of Green Bay, and when Daniel Whitney laid out a town there he was laughed at and called crazy, for it is a level plain, and was then covered with bushes. The soil was a blackish sand.

Here I got acquainted with many estimable persons—Judge Doty, afterwards Governor; M. L. Martin, Daniel Whitney, David Jones, Ebenezer Childs, Colonel C. Tullar, A. G. Ellis, and a host of others; and at Fort Howard, situated across the river, General Brooks, Major Forsyth, Captain Denning, Lieutenants Sibley, Chapman, Marcy, and others. I was much pleased with Green Bay, and have always valued the acquaintances I then made. At Shanty Town, I met Rev. Mr. Cadle, who had charge of the Episcopal Mission, delightfully situated on a hill back from the River in a beautiful grove; and Alexander Irwin and his lady, and Samuel his brother, who were engaged in merchandise here; Wm. Dickinson and others.

Having letters of introduction to Mr. Daniel Whitney, I became well acquainted with him, and have considered him one of the most enterprising men of the West. At this time, he was doing an extensive business in merchandise, reaching on to the Wisconsin River, where he had built the first saw-mill upon the River at Point Bausse, some seventy miles above the Portage; two large store-houses at the Portage, one on the Wisconsin, and one on the Fox, a shot-tower at Helena; and extending his business to the Mississippi at Galena and St. Louis. When, three years before, he persisted in building and laying off a town at Green Bay, although he was laughed at and called crazy, he was ahead of the times, and it proved a good investment, although Navarino did not prove one, for Green Bay is now a large and flourishing city. I afterwards met him often, and roamed over the country with him on horseback, as all our traveling was accomplished in that way in those days, sometimes without roads and sometimes on Indian trails, fording streams, marshes, etc., etc.; sometimes in the rain, and sometimes through snow, taking the ground for our beds, with

our saddles for pillows, carrying provisions and blankets with us. I always found him a cheerful companion, and an estimable man.

He gave me at one time an account, the minutes of which I took down, of a journey of his from Fort Snelling, on the St. Peters, to Detroit, Mich., in 1821, in the midst of winter, as follows:

December sixth 1821, he started in a canoe with two men, the ice running thick in the River. His acquaintances tried hard to persuade him to defer starting until the River closed; but no, business called him, and he must go. They soon found themselves in a bad fix, for the ice blocked up under the canoe so as to raise it six feet above the water. After great exertion they got to shore, as he said, more pleased than he ever was in his life at getting on land again. They then started on foot, and got only nine miles the first day, and encamped. The next day started down the River bank, packing their food and blankets on their backs, each carrying a gun, the weather extremely cold, and the snow six inches deep. They were five days in getting to Lake Pepin. In crossing the Lake Mr. Whitney broke through; the lock of his gun catching on the ice was the only thing that saved him. The weather was so cold some of the time, that they had to stop and build fires to warm themselves to keep from freezing. Thirty miles above Prairie du Chien, they got out of provisions, but seeing a smoke they made for it, and found Augustin Grignon encamped, an acquaintance from Green Bay. He was on a trading voyage among the Indians; he supplied the travelers with provisions. In this way, they passed through Prairie du Chien, on to Fort Winnebago, and from thence to Green Bay, where they arrived in twenty-one days from Fort Snelling. After remaining a few days, he took a guide and started on foot for Chicago, where he arrived in ten days, and from there to Detroit in ten days more; making his tramp in forty-one days from Fort Snelling, and said he could then make his forty miles a day, and found it easier than to ride on horseback.

I shipped my goods by water, contracting with Alexander and Samuel Irwin to transport them to Fort Winnebago in Durham boats; and in order to do so, it was necessary for them to assemble a large number of Indians at the Rapids to help them over with the boats. At Grand Kau-ka-lo, they had to unload and cart the goods about one mile, and the Indians going into the water, pushing, lifting and hauling the boats over the Rapids; then re-loading, and

poling them up to the Grand Chute, where Appleton is now situated. There they had to unload, and carry the goods up a hill and down the other side above the Chute, which was a perpendicular fall of three or four feet. The Indians would wade in, as many as could stand around the boat, and lift it over, while others had a long cordelle with a turn around a tree above, taking up the slack, and pulling as much as they could. When the boats were over, they were re-loaded, and they pushed ahead and poled from there to Fort Winnebago. Excepting in low water, they would have to make half-loads over the Winnebago Rapids at Neenah, and with a fair wind would sail through Lake Winnebago.

This was the manner of transportation on Fox River at that time, taking from fifteen to eighteen days to reach Fort Winnebago, all of which has been changed by the improvement of the River.

Having made my arrangements, and engaged Hamilton Arndt as a guide, we mounted and pushed up the River to Depere, where we crossed in a scow, and followed an Indian trail up the River to the Grand Kau-ka-lo, as it was called, where we stayed over night at Augustin Grignon's, a very comfortable place. Here we found the two sons, very pleasant and agreeable young men, having English educations. The ride to-day was delightful to me, for everything was new and pleasant, the trail running on a ridge of land fifty to seventy-five feet above the River, covered with scattered oaks, like an orchard, the ground bedecked with brightest flowers, and descending gradually to the River, which is a broad, beautiful stream; and on the opposite side the banks were covered with a dense forest. Riding over the prairies or openings on the jump through such scenery, on a narrow foot-path, was something delightful to me. On the twenty-fifth, we started and forded the Rapids, about eighty rods in width and knee deep to our horses, as we concluded to go on the east side of Lake Winnebago, this being a new route to Portage. The usual way was to follow a trail on the west side of the Lake, and cross the River at Knagg's Ferry, where Oshkosh now is. We struck the Lake shore, and followed it for a time; but concluded to strike for the road that led through the Stockbridge Settlement; but after wandering through the woods for some time, we went back to the Lake shore, and saw an Indian, who directed us to the trail, so we got to the road, which was one continuous

mud-hole. We wanted to get to a house for the night. Here was a road cut through heavy timber by the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians; twenty-five or thirty miles beyond which, the road did not extend. We stayed over night at a comfortable log house. In the morning, we rode to Mr. Abner's, where we got a good breakfast. These people have comfortable buildings, fields fenced and cultivated, and I should have supposed we were passing through a white settlement if I was not told to the contrary. These Brothertowns talk English, and have lost their Indian language. The lands are heavily timbered, and very rich, each family having one hundred acres.

About half a mile further on, we struck the prairie, which to me was a beautiful sight. Here we could see a grass plat for four or five miles, and not a tree or bush on it. Then again, as we passed on, we would see orchards, as it were, the grass up to our horses' mouths, so that they would nip it as we rode upon the jump. We soon came upon the bank of Lake Winnebago, which is about fifteen miles wide and thirty long; here we found an Indian encampment. Arndt was acquainted with them, having traded with them, in fact the chief knew me, having seen me at Mr. Arndt's store in Green Bay. Arndt got him to send two boys to guide us to the crossing of Fond du Lac River, where we had to put our valises and blankets on our shoulders to keep them out of the water while fording the stream, as the water was nearly over our horses' backs. A little beyond we had no track, but met the mail-carrier from the Fort, who told us that Mr. Mullett and party were on the route surveying Government land, and we would get to his tent about time to encamp for the night. Judge Doty and Lieutenant Center* had surveyed the road through to the Fort; but on the prairie, we had no guide; but in the timber they had blazed the trees so we could follow them; when we struck the prairies, we had to judge as near as we could our course, and when we reached the timber, hunt up the blazes, and then go on. At evening we discovered some surveyor's marks that we thought were made that day, so we halloed, and were answered, and soon came upon their

* Alexander J. Center, a native of New York, a cadet from 1823 to 1827, when he entered the army, serving on frontier duty, participating in the Black Hawk war, and assigned to topographical duty from 1832 to 1836, when he resigned. He has since been much engaged as a civil engineer on canals and railroads; superintendent of the overland route mail-route to California; President to a Maryland Coal Company, and of the Cumberland and Pennsylvania Railroad, retiring in 1866 to New York City.

L. C. D.

camp. We found Mr. Mullett a very gentlemanly man who invited us to partake of his pork, bread, and tea, which were their daily fare. After partaking of it, we wrapped our cloaks around us, and crawled between two blankets, and slept finely. Mr. Mullett said he had not been in from the field for three months, and had been surveying for twelve years. He was from Detroit. I should think it would kill most men to be exposed so much, for they have to wade streams and marshes sometimes up to their armpits.

We passed over some fine prairies. In many places they looked like cultivated fields. We would see an orchard in the distance, and before I knew it I was frequently looking for the house, not realizing there was none within from twenty to fifty miles of us. We arrived at Mr. Pauquette's farm at Belle Fontaine on the twenty-seventh, and got a fine dinner of fried venison, etc., and from here to Fort Winnebago there was a good carriage road of twelve miles. At the Fort, I met Lieutenant Lacy, Quarter-master and Commissary, who received me cordially, and said he had a bed at my disposal, as his wife was absent. He accompanied me in calling upon the commanding officer, Colonel Cutler, and his lady, with whom I was acquainted. The Colonel said the store should be ready for me by the time my goods got here. I also met Lieutenants Van Cleve, Johnston, Collinsworth, Ruggles, Hooe, and Read, together with Surgeon McDougall, Captains Lowe, Clark, and Plympton were absent at this time. Dr. L. Foot arrived in the fall. Out of thirty-six days, the Colonel told me, they had rain more or less thirty-one days. I found Burley Follett, Daniel Bushnell and Saterlee Clark, Jr., in charge of the Sutler's store, as agents of Oliver Newberry, of Detroit, for whom they were carrying on the business. Captain McCabe, * Postmaster and Indian Agent, was living in the Agency House across the River; a fine, jolly man I found him.

My goods arrived on the first of July, six weeks from New York. How was that for speed? July the second Captain Low arrived at Duck Creek, four miles from the fort, with his wife and two daughters in a carriage, and sent up word for men to help them across. So the Colonel sent twenty men to help them across Duck Creek marsh, and they arrived safe at the Fort. This Fort was sit-

* See appended notice of the several officers at Fort Winnebago in 1834.

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uated on a beautiful plateau, forty or fifty feet above the Fox River, on the east side of it, and of the Portage, the River forming an ox-bow around it on three sides. The grounds about the buildings embraced ten or fifteen acres, with a substantial board fence. The Fort buildings were enclosed with an ornamental picket-fence, in a circular form, with walks graded, and kept in perfect order, together with the rest of the grounds, and altogether it was a delightful place. The Portage is low ground one mile and a half across to the Wisconsin River, over which they haul boats. Peter or Pierre Pauquette, a half breed Indian trader, kept fifteen or twenty yoke of cattle to haul boats across from one River to the other, and finally had larger wheels mounted, on which to convey the boats. As the American Fur Company sent all their furs from Prairie du Chien this way to Mackinac. There were many boats that crossed the Portage.

At this time there were no white American inhabitants outside the Fort, except the Indian Agent, Captain McCabe, who had a shock of palsy, and left in August, when I was appointed Postmaster in his stead, which office I held for twelve years. After he left, the commanding officer at the Fort was ordered to perform the duties of Indian Agent; and after that there was no other Agent at this point, except for a few months, when Thomas A. B. Boyd was stationed here as Sub-Agent. Colonel Cutler commanded until May, 1835, when he was ordered to New York, and Major Nathan Clark succeeded him, who died at this post; and Major John Green took the command in October, 1835, Major W. V. Cobbs succeeding him in 1838, he being disabled with palsy. Captain Low was the chief officer for a short time, when Colonel M'Intosh succeeded him in 1840. The garrison was reduced to one company finally, with Lieutenant F. S. Mumford* in command, who was ordered in 1845 to remove the property and evacuate the Fort, leaving Ordinance Sergeant Van Camp in charge of the premises, who soon after died, and William Weir, who left with the last troops, returning, (he having been discharged,) was put in charge of the property. In 1853, Colonel F. H. Marston was ordered to sell the property. He had the lands of the reserve, consisting of about four thousand acres, surveyed off into forty-acre lots, and sold them at public sale. Falling into the hands of a company, they were

*Brief notices of Majors Green and Cobbs, Colonel M'Intosh, and Lieutenant Mumford commanding Fort Winnebago after 1834, may be found appended to this paper. L. C. D.

kept out of market for a number of years, and the buildings went into decay, and the lands ran to waste.

The Fort was located there, I was told, in 1828, by Major David E. Twiggs, who came from Fort Howard, with a command of soldiers, and lived here in tents until they could build log buildings, in which they wintered, and proceeded to erect the present buildings, into which they moved in 1830. Parties of soldiers went up the Wisconsin River, cut and floated down pine logs, out of which they cut all the lumber with whip-saws, and made shingles, timber, etc. Parties were set at work making brick near the bank of the Wisconsin, and another party sent out twelve miles, near Belle Fontaine, who made there all the lime needed. Fine gardens were made, where they raised all the vegetables necessary for the men and officers.

Although I met Twiggs, I had no particular acquaintance with him. He was a large, portly, pompous man, and had the reputation of being an arbitrary, overbearing officer—as Ebenezer Childs expressed it, “A little god, who could do as he pleased, in his own estimation.” Many acts of his were told in the army, such as horse-whipping the surgeon, having a soldier tied up to a tree and whipped every day for some time. The same man threatened to shoot him whenever he got out of his clutches; but he never had the opportunity, Twiggs being spared to turn traitor, and surrender his army to the Confederates, in 1861.

When I arrived at the Fort, the old chief De-kau-ry, had his village on the west side of the Wisconsin River, about eight miles below the Portage. His hair was as white as wool, and he must have been very old; he had several brothers; but from his looks I should judge that he was the oldest of the family. He died soon after. His mother was pointed out to me some years afterwards, when I was told she must be over one hundred and forty-three years old, for she recollected the circumstances of the massacre of the Indians at Butte des Morts, she being there at the time, which was one hundred and forty years previous; but this, I think, must be a mistake, as I am informed that it was not so long since that massacre.* At the time I saw her, she was able to walk six or eight miles to

*If in 1730, as some documents, given in the fifth volume of the Society's Collection, then it was a hundred and four years before Mr. Merrell's advent at Fort Winnebago; if in 1746, as the traditions of Augustin Grignon fix the time, then it was only eighty-eight years before. But this aged Winnebago woman could not have been present, as it was the Sauks and Foxes, and not the Winnebagoes, whom the French attacked and defeated. L. C. D.

and from the Portage; she lived several years after, and finally came to her death by the burning of her wigwam.

Joseph Crelie, the father of Madam Pauquette, lived to a great age; he carried the mail on horseback to and from Green Bay, and seemed to ride a horse as well as a young man, when he was thought to be a hundred years old. He died a few years ago, when, it was said, that from the best information that could be had, he was one hundred and thirty-odd years old, though I do not think he was as old as represented.

In the fall of 1834, the Winnebago nation was assembled opposite the fort, and received their payment from the Government, through the Quarter-master, together with a quantity of provisions. Over three thousand men, women, and children were assembled, which was quite a sight. I had a boat-load of goods started up from Green Bay; and as it came on freezing weather, for fear it would be frozen in, I started Saterlee Clark down to put additional men on, and rush the boat through. The next day I jumped on a horse, and started to meet them at Lake Apuc-away. I soon found I had taken a wrong road, it being a wood track on which the soldiers were hauling wood; so I took a trail and followed it for some time; but concluded it led me too much east, so I drew up and started in a northwest course, as that would bring me to the road, which I finally struck; and knowing there was no other wagon road, I took it and brought up at Gleason's house—where the town of Marquette now is. Gleason was a Vermonter, having a squaw wife, and was engaged in the Indian trade. He was absent. I found Clark had stored my goods there, and gone to the fort, so I concluded I had missed him, I having traveled through the woods until I struck the road. The next morning I started back, and on arriving at Pauquett's farm at Belle Fontaine, I met Clark, who said they thought at the fort I must be lost; that Colonel Cutler sent the bugler out with one man, with orders to blow the bugle, and fire a gun every little distance. The Colonel, supposing I was not used to the woods, was sure I was lost. We got in all right, but the men did not put in an appearance until a day or two afterwards.

During the winter it was rather a lonely life to be confined to the garrison, with no city or village within one hundred miles, and not even a farm house to visit. But we managed to enjoy ourselves

pretty well, there being ladies enough to form one cotillion, and we often met at one of the officers quarters and danced, there being good musicians among the soldiers.

One winter the soldiers got up a theatre, the officers contributing towards scenery and dresses. There being a great variety of character among the soldiers, they got up quite a respectable company, which afforded us much amusement. Then we would sometimes make up a party and go a visiting, but to do so, we had to go over one hundred miles to Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, or Chicago. One visit we made to Chicago is very well told by General Marcy, in a former number of *Harper's Monthly*,* when we were all taken up on the road for stealing a buffalo robe, for the purpose of filching money out of us, as they thought we would sooner pay than be detained at a log tavern over night.

About the first of March, 1835, I got ready to start for New York on horseback; but the only sure way to go was *via*. Galena, and from there to Chicago, as there were no roads through the country in any other direction; and if I attempted to cross the country to Milwaukee or Chicago, there were no bridges or ferries for crossing the streams. Captain Harris from Galena came up to the Fort on business, and I gladly embraced the opportunity of accompanying him on his return. The first night, we stayed at Rowan's celebrated house, thirty-five miles from the Fort. I had heard much of his inn, and found it filled the bill. It consisted of two log buildings, with an open space about ten feet between, all under the same roof. After taking care of our horses, and getting something to eat, we inquired where we should sleep, and madam told us in the other house; so we went in, and concluded we should do very well as there was nothing in the room but a bed, and one or two three-legged stools. After laying down, and by the time we were ready to go to sleep, there was an unearthly squeal and grunt of hogs in the open space between the two rooms, only a partition of logs between our heads and them. I was told that Governor Doty once stayed there; and after supper, as was his custom, rolled himself in his blanket on the floor. The family all lived, cooked and slept in the one room; and in the night the Governor felt something poking about him, and found it was a pet pig the children had run-

* September, 1849.

ning about the house. The Governor felt of the puncheons of the floor, and found one loose, which he raised carefully, and grabbing the pig, thrust him under, and was relieved of his company that night. The next morning there was a great search for the pig.

Dr. Worrel, of the army, with a companion arrived there at one time, and on hearing him called doctor, madam says, "I am dreadful glad you are a doctor, for my children are most rotten with the itch." When she was cooking supper, there was a dish of potatoes on the hearth, and the pet pig stuck his nose in it; the doctor says, "Madam, I would like to be served before the pig." So, in traveling through the country, we came across some curious specimens of humanity.

We journeyed on through Mineral Point to Galena; as we were going in, we met most of the population, as I judged, going out to a horse race. I called for dinner at Bennet's Hotel, but it was difficult to get waited upon, as most of the folks had gone. So I got something to eat, and pushed on, taking the stage-road *via* Dixon's Ferry. At night I rode up in front of a house where a woman was standing in the door, and inquired if I could stay with them over night. "I reckon," said she. I looked at her, and thinks I to myself she means yes; so concluded to find out by dismounting and walking in, when she informed me, as the men were not in, I would have to put my horse in the barn myself, which I was by this time well accustomed to do. I pushed on through Chicago around by Michigan City to Detroit, my pony and I standing it well. I had prepared myself so well that I could stand it, storm or sunshine. Here I sold my pony, and took a steamer to Cleveland; from there I had to stage it.

I first visited Mineral Point in 1835, where I made many acquaintances; Colonel Abner Nichols, a peculiar character, whom all will recollect who ever knew him; Colonel Wm. S. Hamilton, Colonel Chas. Bracken, Major Henry, Levi Sterling, Tom Parish, Mr. Black, a very amusing man—one who could keep a company laughing all the evening with his amusing stories; Colonel Sheldon, Major Enos, Ebenezer Brigham, resident of Blue Mounds, who came into Wisconsin as a settler in 1828, a staunch, sound man; James Morrison, who afterwards settled in Madison; General Dodge, a firm old Roman, who, when in Congress as Senator with I. P. Walker, from Wisconsin, were instructed by resolution of the Legisla-

ture to vote against a clause in a bill applying to California, which was construed as admitting slavery. Walker disregarding the dictation of the Legislature, voted for it. General Dodge being sick at the time had himself carried into the Senate chamber, and when his name was called, requested the Clerk to read the instructions to her Senators from the Legislature of Wisconsin. When finished, he voted "No," which was looked upon as great a rebuke as could have been given to Walker, whose action then laid him on the shelf, for it was never forgotten or forgiven by the people of the State. Many others too numerous to mention, I met there.

After visiting Mineral Point, I called on friend N. Goodle, at Elk Grove, and then rode to the furnace of Tom Parish, a very genial man. Spending a short time with him, I pushed on, and it became very dark, and traveling on an Indian trail, so dark I could not see it, but let my horse take his own course. Finally I brought up to a fence, and following it, I came to a house where I was to stay, at Patch's Grove. I got into very good quarters, Mr. Patch being very sociable, as most people were in those days, for they were glad to see company, and get the news, as probably they had no mails oftener than once a month, and neighbors being few and far between. After conversing a long time, he wanted to know what State I came from, for he said he could generally tell; but in my case he could not make it out. When I told him I was from New York, he said he thought so; for it was the only State he was puzzled about. The next morning I followed a road to a ferry across the Wisconsin, and then pushed on three miles to Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien.

This was my first visit to the great Father of Waters—the Mississippi, at Prairie du Chien, or "the Prairie of de d——d dog," as I heard a Frenchman call it. At Fort Crawford I made many acquaintances, among them Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterwards General, and since President of the United States. Fort Crawford, and most of the town, were handsomely situated on a beautiful plateau, rising, I should think, not more than ten or twelve feet above the high water mark of the River. What was called the Old Town, where the French first built, was across a slough, but as the high waters of the River over-flowed the ground, many moved across on to a higher situation. Here I became acquainted with Mr. Joseph Rolette, an old French trader, and a smart man in his way. He,

together with Mr. Hercules L. Dousman, conducted the business of the American Fur Company. I had met them before, as their business took them, *via* Portage and Green Bay, to Mackinaw, through which route they transported all their furs and peltries—Mackinaw being the depot of the Company for the North-west, where the furs were received and re-packed, previous to being shipped to New York. This town being the oldest settled point, except Green Bay, by the whites, in the North-west, invested much interest in it. I thought it delightful, although there were but few Americans living there at the time—most of the inhabitants being French and half-breeds. Their houses were a curiosity to me, covered, as they were, roof and sides, with white cedar bark. The prairie is, I think, six miles long by about three miles back to the bluff. Like the locality where La Crosse is situated, I think it evidently all made ground, where ages ago was an extensive Lake.

The Mississippi is a noble River, it being filled with islands covered with a dense vegetation, with the bluff sometimes rising perpendicularly to some hundreds of feet, varying in shape constantly at every turn in the River, with here and there a small valley or ravine reaching the stream from the hills or prairies; and one never tires while ascending or descending the River, in admiring the scenery. I was amused at the remarks of Daniel Whitney, from Green Bay, while he and I were standing upon the bank watching the current. "Oh," said he, "I wish I had as many guineas as drops of water ever passed this place." I told him he was altogether too extravagant, laughing at his remark.

In March, 1836, I wanted to go by the way of Sheboygan on a journey to New York, so the commanding officer gave a soldier by the name of Moore a furlough for the rest of his time—about a month—and his discharge, for the purpose of accompanying me. I got a jumper-sleigh and a harness, calculating to throw it away when it was necessary; put my horse before it, and Moore and I started, and went to Fond du Lac, where we found on the bank of the stream part of an old wigwam, and decided to encamp in it. I went to building a fire, and Moore went to the stream for water. I heard him talking, and supposed some Indian had come up; but on his return he said he was swearing, for he had to cut through three feet of ice before he got water. We made our tea, ate our supper, and slept finely.

Next morning we started east, but after getting upon the high lands, the small bushes were so thick I told my companion we could not take the sleigh any further, so we left the sleigh and packed the baggage on the horse and took it on foot. When I got tired I mounted the horse and rode, and after getting rested would jump off and lead him. At length we struck a trail, and followed it, supposing it must lead to Sheboygan; but after going some distance, I concluded it lead too far south. So we altered our course, and struck north of east. As night approached, I selected a camping ground near a little lake as we supposed. The snow was so frozen to the ground we could not get it off; so I cut a lot of bushes with the leaves on, and spread them on the frozen snow, upon which we laid down after building a good fire, and eating our supper. Moore said he cut through three feet of ice for water, and struck into mud; thus proving it to be a marsh instead of a lake. We had to melt ice for water.

The next day we pushed on, and hearing the report of a gun, I called aloud, and an Indian came up who directed us to a trail, which took us to a house on the River, where a man by the name of Follet was living. I had intended stopping here a day to look at some land I had purchased; but Follett told me he had no hay or anything for my horse, and there was none to be had, as there were no other inhabitants in that region. I found he had some corn meal, and I persuaded him to let me have a peck for one dollar. I then decided upon going on in the morning. Moore struck up a bargain with Follett for a pony to ride to Chicago; so we mounted in the morning, and renewed our journey. At night we came to a place where logs had been put up for a house, inside of which we camped. We had provisions but nothing for our horses. Next day we arrived at Milwaukee, stopping at Mr. Vail's Cottage Inn. Here there was quite a crowd; so much so that they had to set several tables, and at meal-times there was a great rush for the table. The hostler asked me how much oats he should give my horse; "half a bushel," I said. He stared at me; "I don't think they will hurt him," I added; but when I came to settle the bill, they charged me at the rate of three dollars a bushel for them, and I thought that was what astonished him so much. I found that was the price along the road until we got to Chicago; for at that time pro-

visions and grain had to be hauled from Indiana, and necessarily made the prices high.

I sold my horse at Chicago, and took stage, having the company of Captain Hunter, since General, as far as Detroit. I became tired of stage-riding, and resolved to buy a horse the first chance I had; and secured one in Cleveland, thence going on horseback by way of Sackett's Harbor, to Utica, New York. I found I could get along by daylight as far as the stage could day and night, as the roads were heavy.

On my return from Green Bay one season, I stayed at a house in the Stockbridge settlement, and pursuing my journey alone through where Fond du Lac now is, seven miles south-west of it I came to a creek, and there found a shanty put up by the soldiers when they were cutting a road through from Fort Winnebago. They had inserted some posts in the ground, and some poles across the top, with brush and a little straw for a roof. I concluded this was a good place to encamp, as it began to rain. So I spanceled my horse, ate my lunch, which I always carried with me through the country, then spread my horse blanket on some loose straw, hung up my saddle-bags and saddle carefully, where I thought they would not get wet, and lay down, covering myself with the blanket and camblet cloak. But I had not lain but a few moments before the water came in streams through the straw roof. Soon I found the water settling under me; it lodged upon the blanket and was forming a pool, so I pulled it out from under me, and then the rain settled through the straw and I went to sleep, and slept soundly until after sunrise.

When I awoke, it was hard to get my eyes open; I went to the creek and washed, when I found that all my clothing was soaking wet, even to my saddle-skirts. Having a flask of spirits along, I ate some crackers and took a good drink, saddled and mounted, it still raining. I hooked my cloak, letting it hang loosely around me, and rode through to the Fort. It stopped raining in the afternoon, and from the exercise I got dry, at least next to my body. I never felt any ill effects from the thorough soaking I got, although I supposed, before my experience, that serious, if not fatal results, would have attended such an exposure.

Pierre Pauquette lived opposite Fort Winnebago on what was called the Agency Hill. I considered him the best specimen of

Nature's noble-men I ever met. He was born, I think, in Missouri, and engaged in the Indian trade at an early day. When I knew him he was six feet two inches in height, large, and fleshy, but his flesh was hard, and felt more like my knee-paw than common flesh. I once took my handkerchief and measured around his thigh, and it just reached around my waist. He was the strongest man I ever knew; he would pick up a barrel of pork and throw it into a wagon as easily as a man would a ten gallon keg. I had a cask of dry white lead at my door, with eight hundred pounds of lead in it, and I was told by my clerk that he took it by the chimes, and lifted it off the ground. At one time, I was informed, he was hauling a boat across the Portage with ox-teams, and one of the oxen gave out and would not pull. He took off the bow, pushed the ox one side, and taking hold of the yoke, he pulled beside the other ox across the Portage. Many other feats of his strength are related. He was of a mild disposition, could neither read nor write; but had as fine a sense of honor as any gentleman I ever knew; and all who knew him would take his word as soon as any man's bond.

He and a companion (as he told me) were trading among some Indians in the North-west until some others, the Flat Heads, I think, took them prisoners, and determined to burn them; they tied them each to a tree with their arms around it, then piled brush and wood around them, and set fire to the pile around his companion. He thought his time had come; but witnessing the excruciating sufferings of his fellow, he gave one superhuman pull at his thongs, and felt them gave way. As he did so, an old squaw, the only one near him, caught him by the arm and gave a scream. He tried to shake her off, but could not; so he caught her hatchet and imbedded it in her head, which loosened her hold, and he jumped and ran, the Indians at his heels after him; but he could outrun almost any man, and outstripped them. Night coming on, he secreted himself, and finally got to a trading post, after three days. He finally settled at Portage in the Indian trade; and at the time I knew him, he had such influence over the chiefs of the Winnebagoes, that he was considered at the head of the nation. He could talk the Winnebago, French and English languages fluently, and was the only good Winnebago interpreter in the country. He was with Colonel Dodge in the Sauk war, and the Colonel would always call for him to interpret when he held councils with the Winnebagoes. He

used to trust the Indians, from year to year, I was informed, without any books, carrying their accounts in his head; and when they would come in with their furs, he would tell them what they owed him, and they were invariably satisfied. When I arrived, he was trading for the American Fur Company, they furnishing him with goods and a book-keeper, he in the Spring turning over to them his furs, they fixing the prices of his goods and furs. Thus they of course had it all their own way. John T. De La Ronde was his clerk when I came, but he finally discharged him.

In the fall of 1836, Governor Dodge came to the Fort, and had the Indians called in to meet him, and receive their payment. The chiefs met him in council, with Pauquette as interpreter. The Governor proposed to make a treaty with them, and buy their country between the Wisconsin and the Mississippi. After they had counseled for some days, they refused to sell their country. It was generally supposed, as Pauquette advised them, they would act; therefore, the story was raised that Pauquette had advised them not to sell, and that he had not interpreted truly, which came to the ears of Pauquette, and he said it was untrue. He told me the chiefs asked his advice, but he told them he could not advise them, for he did not know anything about the country the Government wanted them to go to; and, therefore, they must make up their own minds about it.

The traders and half-breeds, all the way from Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, were assembled here; and it was supposed many of them, if not most of them, wanted the Indians to form a treaty, so they could get money by it. As it was thought that Pauquette had as much influence with the nation as a king, he was courted as well as feared by all; therefore every man of them wanted to court his favor, and would treat him, and urge him to drink. The consequence was, that after getting through interpreting, and settling up with Governor Dodge, which was the latter part of the third day, he drank too much—the first time I ever saw him under the influence of liquor. I had a long talk with him in the afternoon, when he told me he was satisfied the Agents of the Fur Company had cheated him, and he should settle off with them as soon as the payment was over, which was to take place the next day, if he could get any one to furnish him. I told him I would furnish him all the goods he wanted. "Will you?" said he, "If I had known

that, I would have proposed it long ago." I told him that no one supposed he could be induced to leave the Fur Company. He then appeared to be perfectly himself.

After tea, Satterlee Clark and I went down to the Sutler's store, met there Pauquette, and Messrs. Powell and Gleason. We stood in the yard in front of the store talking for some time. Pauquette said some of the traders had been lying about him, and he would lick some of them before they left the ground. As he felt so aggrieved, and dwelt so much upon it, I feared he would get into a quarrel with them. While we were talking, Paul Grignon rode up on horseback, and Pauquette caught hold of him and pulled him off of his horse, playfully; and laughing, commenced talking to him, but we, not understanding the language, did not know what was said. Finally, I saw he became enraged, having hold of the man's cravat, a black silk one, tied loosely around his neck, with his left hand, and flourishing his right as though he would strike him. I said to the men, "don't let him hurt Grignon," and remarked to Pauquette, "don't hurt him, for he is no more than a child in your hands." Three men, all strong ones, caught hold of his right arm, but he would sway them backwards and forwards as though they were children; but as long as they held on to his arm he could not strike him; I, in the meantime trying to unfasten his grip, but finding I could not, as his grasp seemed like a vise, I took out my knife and cut the cravat in two, jerking Grignon away at the same time, and telling him to clear out, as Pauquette was crazy, and would kill him; he then readily jumped upon his horse, and rode off. Pauquette seemed to give up, and did not try to stop him, but said he would whip some of them yet. He stayed and talked with us for a time.

There were quite a number of the Grignons at the Portage from Green Bay and the country, and Pauquette said it was some of them who had lied about him. By this time it was getting dark, and he started to go over to the Agency Hill, as it was called, about half a mile opposite the Fort, where the traders and half breeds were encamped, some in tents, and some in wigwams. I said to Satterlee Clark, he had better go and see that he did not get into a fight, for if he did he would kill some one, or would get killed himself. He started but Pauquette told him to go back as he did not want to get any of his friends into a scrape, so Clark turned back, and I

asked him if he was not going, when he said no. I then said to Mr. Gleason, we must go. Agreed, said he, and we followed him over. I told Gleason we would keep out of his sight, but watch him, which we did. Pauquette went into a wigwam, and chatted a few minutes, and then went into Judge Law's tent, and talked with him a short time. After coming out, he met Amable Grignon, who had on a plaid cloak, hooked at the neck. He commenced talking with him, but soon got into a rage, as he had before, and insisted upon fighting him, pulling off his coat. Several went up and tried to appease him, but could not. Louis Grignon finally came up, and I supposed he would quiet him, as I had reason to believe Pauquette thought a great deal of him, as he always called him Father Grignon; but he would not listen to him.

Then I thought I would try and see what I could do; so I took his coat, and went up to him saying, Pauquette, what are you doing out here, a sick man, in the night air, without his coat on? I ain't sick, he replied. Well, you will be, if you expose yourself in this way; put on your coat, and go with me over to the shanty; there is no use quarrelling, for we are all friends here. Well, I will, if you say so, said he. He then put on his coat, and went over with us to the Sutler's store, to my astonishment; for I never supposed I had so much influence over him as the circumstance indicated. This night he stayed with us (there being several officers in) conversing with us until eleven o'clock. Ever and anon he would speak about the reports about him, and the lies told, so that I saw it was the one thing uppermost in his mind. He said he would not tell a lie for any man, not even his father, and they should not lie about him. All at once he started out of the door, and down across the bridge, Gleason and I after him. When Gleason got on the bridge, he called to him; when Pauquette stopped, and asked what he wanted. Merrell wants you, said Gleason. What does he want, said Pauquette.

Just then I came up, and said to him, "Pauquette, there is no use of your going over there; you will only get into a scrape if you do; but go over home; Gleason, Powell and Toutsant will go home with you, and stay to-night." "Well, agreed," he replied, "if you say so." They all started, and went over towards the Wisconsin River, across which he lived, and Satterlee Clark and I went to bed, thinking he was safe; but about twelve or one o'clock, Mr.

Powell rapped at our window, and said Pauquette was killed by an Indian. We sent word to the officers, and a number of us mounted our horses—Lieutenant Hooe taking a file of soldiers—and went over and found, sure enough, he lay dead in the bushes, near where the Catholic church now stands. We took the body and carried it over to his house, he having a ferry-boat for his own use.

I, being a justice of the peace, commenced taking the testimony, when an Indian came in, and said the Indian who shot Pauquette was in a wigwam across the River; and if the soldiers would go, he would show them where he was. So Lieutenant Hooe went with his men; but before reaching the wigwam, the Indians proposed going in and pinioning him, as he was armed, which they did, and delivered them up to Lieutenant Hooe, who said the Indians wanted he should let them kill him on the spot; but he would not let them, and brought him over to the house. The Indian proved to be Man-za-mo-ne-kah, son of the chief Whirling Thunder, who, according to his mother's statement, came up from the Mines determined to kill Pauquette.

Mr. William Powell, from Green Lake, who was with Pauquette when he was shot down, testified that on their way, they stopped at Mr. Gleason's house, a short distance from where we found the body, and Pauquette went out. That he, Powell, went to look for him, and found him sitting, talking with an Indian by a small fire; and seeing he was without his coat, he went to the house and got it, and helped him on with it, and started for the ferry. Soon they met the Indian with his gun on his shoulder, and passed him, who immediately turned and said, "Pauquette, is that you?" Pauquette, turned and said "Yes—what do you want?" The Indian asked, "Are you a man?" "Yes," was his reply, striking his breast with his hands, "and a good man, too." The Indian leveled his gun, and shot, the ball passing through the left lung; and Powell further related, that he was so near the Indian that he caught hold of the gun, but it went off at that instant. Powell ran to the house, and called the men out, thinking the Indian would fall on him. When they got to Pauquette, he was just breathing his last. The Indian said Pauquette struck him over the head with a brand from the fire; but there was no mark on his head, and his mother's statement who witnessed it, was thought to be the correct one.

I committed Man-za-mon-e-kah, and requested the commanding

officer at the fort to keep him until the sheriff from Green Bay could come up and take him to jail; which was done, and he was taken to Green Bay, tried, and sentenced to be hung. The sheriff made all preparations to hang him, but on the day he was to be executed, there came an order to the Sheriff to stay proceedings, that a new trial would be granted; so he was not hung on that day, and then it was found out he could not be tried a second time, and so was released; but he never dared let himself be seen in the nation again, as many Indians were determined to kill him if they could find him, for they felt—and there was no doubt in the minds of any one—that they had lost the best friend they ever had.* Pauquette was always called upon to divide the provisions and goods, furnished them by the Government, among the several bands, of which there were six or eight, which was done in this way: The heads of families of each band were seated on the ground in a large circle; and Pauquette would go into the center of the ring, and deal out to each, the proportion according to the size of the families, of flour, pork, salt, tobacco, etc. Here was one cause of jealousy. Then he trusted the Indians, receiving their furs when they came in; and of course those who were the best hunters got the greatest credits—and this was another cause of jealousy.

In the preceding summer of 1836, the chiefs came in, and requested the commanding officer, who was acting as Indian Agent, by order of the War Department, to pay Pauquette when their payment was made, for goods and provisions, to be furnished the nation, as they were in a starving condition; and the Commaudant agreed to pay him at their request twenty-two thousand dollars which would have been paid him the next day had he lived; but after his death they refused and forbid it being paid to the agent of the American Fur Company. Whirling Thunder had fallen into disgrace with the other chiefs, as he did not live in the country with the Nation; but lived in the Mines, pitching his wigwam near the dwelling of a man by the name of Doherty, who had taken Thunder's daughter's for his wife; and as Pauquette, Doherty thought, stood in his way of influence with the Nation, as well as trade, it

* In Schoolcraft's *History and condition of the Indian Tribes*, Vol. iii, page 281, is this corroborative testimony of Pauquette's good character: "One of the worst acts, and which stains their character by its atrocity, was the assassination of Pierre Pauquette, the interpreter at the Agency, on the Wisconsin Portage. He was a man of Winnebago lineage, and was reputed to be one of the best friends and counsellors of the nation."

was believed he felt it for his interest to prejudice the chief and his son against Pauquette, and the son got so wrought up that he determined to make way with him.

At one time, Doherty came up to the Fort, and tried to get the chiefs to sign an agreement to give his wife and children each a section of land when they made a treaty; and Pauquette laughed at it, as he knew the Government had decided not to give any more lands to the half-breeds, but would give money instead; but Doherty would not believe it. In this way, probably, the feeling against Pauquette was kept up. Man-za-mon-e-kah said Pauquette did not give them their share of goods and provisions, and would not trust them as he did other Indians.

I have dwelt upon this the longer as many stories were raised in regard to the cause of the Indians being incited to the deed. One was, that Pauquette had whipped him once or twice, which was the cause; but there was no evidence of it, and no one who knew all the facts believed it for a moment.

Some years after, Captain Thompson was out with a party of soldiers gathering up the Indians to remove them west of the Mississippi, and came across a young Indian whom he induced to guide him to Man-za-mon-e-ka's camp; and he surrounded his wigwam before the Indian knew it. The Captain said he found him on an island in Winnebago swamp—since Lake Horicon—and never could have discovered his retreat but for his guide. Man-za-mon-e-kah was taken to Prairie du Chien, from which he soon disappeared, and no one knew what became of him. Captain Thompson said that Man-za-mon-e-kah, after taking him, said that he was never happy after killing Pauquette, as he dare not venture himself among his Nation, and had to secrete himself. He probably lived the rest of his life away from his people.

Pauquette had purchased a number of sections of land from half-breeds, besides three sections which were given him by the Indians under their treaties, so that at his death he had twelve or sixteen sections of land, a large number of cattle and horses, together with a fine store of Indian goods, and other personal property.

The Agent of the Fur Company took possession of the goods, and sold them for the benefit of the Company, giving, as he said, Pauquette credit for them.

In 1838, the Company received the \$22,000 which the Indians

owed Pauquette at his death. The lands were disposed of by the administrator, and all this property disappeared without the heirs receiving a cent of it; and some outside debts were never paid. Had he lived, I have no doubt he would have been very wealthy. He had put up a log building for a Catholic Church, which was not finished, and his remains were deposited under it. The building was afterwards burned down. The lot belonged to Benjamin L. Webb, of Detroit, who reserved it from sale, for he the owner esteemed Pauquette so highly that he intended erecting a monument to his memory. Webb was the proprietor of Portage, platted as Fort Winnebago, originally a French grant of six hundred and forty acres, granted to a Frenchman named L'Ecuyer. I being Webb's agent, the Catholic priest applied to me for the lot; but I could not let him have it. He then got the consent of the family, which Mr. Webb required, and the lot was deeded to the church, stipulating that they should take care of the grave. Another church was built near the spot, which has since been turned into a Catholic school-house.

At one time, Pauquette proposed when the old men of the Winnebago Nation were in, that he would get them together, and inform me so as to have them give their history, and I take it down; but to my regret, the opportunity never occurred, as he was too soon cut off. He told me the Nation was divided into two sects; one believing the Great Spirit was a large animal, describing the mammoth, and they took their tribal names from animals, such as the bear, the elk, the wolf, beaver, fox, &c., &c., and carved the likeness of some animal upon their war clubs, guns and other things. The other believed him to be a great bird, and took their names from thunder and birds, such as eagle, the hawk, the crow, etc., etc., and always marked upon their articles the likeness of some bird.

There was an old Indian and his squaw who lived in their wigwam close by Pauquette's house—whether any relation or not, I never knew; but Pauquette was very kind to them, and supplied them with provisions. We at the Fort called him Pony Blau or Blaw. One day he and wife had been over to some whisky shanty, and came across the Portage singing, hand in hand; and when they got near the bridge leading to the Fort, one says to the other, "Let's go and see the Great Spirit"—believing him to be in a cave under Fox River. "Agreed," said the other; so they walked off

into the River. Pauquette happened along just then, and pulled them out, else they would have drowned.

I was told that in the Sauk war, there was a company of rangers, I believe from Illinois, who encamped on the bank of the Wisconsin River, and Pauquette was walking around, looking at them when a large man kicked a little dog following Pauquette, who said to him, "Don't kick that dog, as he is mine." The man replied, "I'll kick you, if you say much. Who are you?" "My name is Pauquette." "Ah!" said the man, "you are the very fellow I want to see. I have heard of you, and came up here on purpose to lick you." Thereupon he pitched at Pauquette, who struck the man but once, peeling the skin from his cheek, knocking him down, when Pauquette caught him by the throat, raising him to his feet, and shaking him like an aspen leaf, asking him if he called himself a man. "I was a man where I came from, but I see I aint here," was his reply. Thus it ended. He concluded he would not whip Pauquette.

While I was postmaster for many years at Fort Winnebago, for Dr. Charles W. Borup, who had charge of the American Fur Company's Post at La Pointe—now Bayfield—near the head of Lake Superior, used to send through to me at Fort Winnebago, for his mail in the winter. The only way he could get it was to employ two or three *voyageurs*, as these men were called, who would come through prepared with their snow shoes, to use when necessary. In 1836 or 1837, John Baptiste Dubay* came through with two men and a dog train. He purchased of me supplies (of flour and tallow principally) and loaded the train, together with a horse and French train which I sold him, and started off, four dogs hauling about five hundred pounds on one train. They and the management of them were quite a curiosity. Those *voyageurs*, I was told, would start into the Indian country, carrying on their backs goods or furs to the amount of one hundred and fifty pounds, and travel some days sixty or seventy miles. The daily rations allowed them was a pint of dry corn, and two ounces of tallow. For anything else, they depended upon game or the Indians. This accounted for what Borup wanted tallow, which was at first a mystery to me. I had frequent communications from Mr. Borup for several years. He at last settled at St. Paul; I suppose retiring from business.

* This early *voyageur* and trader was born at Green Bay in 1810. L. C. D.

One season * I arrived at Mineral Point on my way to New York, and found Messrs. M. M. Strong and John Catlin were going to Chicago, and they proposed we should all go together, and strike a straight line for that place. We started, and went to the east branch of the Pecatonica, and found it full of running ice. So we concluded to encamp there, as we always went prepared with our blankets, etc., for it; and, the next morning, we could build a raft so as to float our baggage over. In the morning, we cut down a small pine tree, and made two stringers of it, and picked up some dry limbs, putting them across; but we found it would not hold up our saddles. "Well," said Mr. Strong, "we can swim our horses across twice, and so get our baggage across," and he prepared himself, putting his papers in his hat, and swam his horse across, leaving his hat on the opposite shore, he returned; by this time he shook like an aspen leaf. We rolled him up in blankets, and he laid down by the fire, trying to get us to try it, but we declined; I told him I could swim my horse across once, but I would not try it twice, and the only way for us was to go to the west branch, and around by Rockford. After urging us until he found it was no use, and got warmed up, he mounted his horse and went over and got his hat and papers; returning we mounted and rode over to the west branch; then he got a canoe, and putting our baggage in, swam our horses over by passing several times; thence we went on to Rockford. One night we came to what we supposed a ravine full of water running from the prairie. Strong was on the lead. I watching his horse closely, thought he stepped as though there was a causeway he was going over. Catlin said to me, "here is a narrower place, I believe I will try it." I answered, "I see Strong has got over very well; I will follow him," which I did, and Catlin followed me. But a little farther on we came to a house we were to stay at over night. When we rode up, a man asked us which way we came and how we got over the bridge; we told him we had not crossed any; when he said, if we had gone ten feet either side, we would have plunged into thirty feet of water. Strong tells the story that our horses crossed on the stringers, the bridge being carried off. We had a great deal of sport on our way, and I do not think either of us will ever forget the journey.

*Hon. Moses M. Strong states that he, in company with Mr. Merrell and Mr. Catlin, started on this trip from Mineral Point, March 21, 1837, reaching Chicago on the 26th.

Governor Dodge being at Portage in 1837, invited the Winnebagoes to send a delegation to visit their Great Father at Washington. Suspicious of a purpose to obtain their lands, they asked—"what for—to make a treaty?" The Governor evaded the point, suggesting that they could get acquainted with their Great Father and obtain presents, and after much persuasion, it was agreed to send a delegation. Yellow Thunder and two other chiefs, the others being young men, generally sons of chiefs. Satterlee Clark accompanied them as one of the conductors. As soon as they reached Washington, they were beset to hold a treaty, and cede their lands to the Government. They finally declined, saying they had no authority for any such purpose; that the most of their chiefs were at home, who alone could enter into such a negotiation. Every influence was brought to bear upon them; and they began to get uneasy lest winter should set in, and prevent their returning home. They were without means to defray their expenses back; and those managing Indian matters at Washington, availed themselves of the necessities of the delegation, keeping them there, and urging them to enter into a treaty.

At length they yielded, not their judgments, but to the pressure brought to bear upon them; and while reluctantly signing the treaty, yet all the while stoutly protesting against having any show of authority to do so. The treaty, as they were informed, permitted them to remain in the peaceful occupancy of the ceded lands eight years, when in fact it was only that number of months; and as each went forward to attach his name, or rather mark, to the treaty, he would repeat what he understood as to the time they were to remain, "eight years." And thus the poor Red Men were deceived and out-witted by those who ought to have been their wards and protectors.

One of the young men, son of a prominent chief, dared not, on his return home, visit his father for a long time. The whole nation felt that they had been outraged, and forced to leave their native homes. Yellow Thunder declared he would never go—that he would leave his bones in Wisconsin; but he was invited, with young Black Wolf, into Fort Winnebago, on pretence of holding a council, when the gates were treacherously closed on them; and they, and many others, were conveyed by the United States' troops beyond the Mississippi. But Yellow Thunder got back sooner

than the soldiers who forced him away.* Then he induced John T. De La Ronde to accompany him to the Land office at Mineral Point, and enter forty acres of land in his behalf, on the west side of the Wisconsin, about eight miles above Portage. At the Land office, inquiry was made if Indians would be permitted to enter land? "Yes," was the reply, "Government had given no orders to the contrary." So Yellow Thunder, the head War Chief of his people, secured a homestead, on which he settled, declaring that he was going to be a white man.† And there he has quietly lived ever since.

The fraudulent treaty of November first, 1837, caused the Government a vast deal of trouble and expense; and very naturally engendered the most embittered feelings and recollections on the part of the Winnebagoes. Is it any wonder that we have Indian wars when they are so treated? I think it would be better to do as Great Britain does—not recognize any title in the Indians to the soil; and when the lands are needed, say to them they must move, and give them a country where they can live, and make comfortable provision for them; but probably it is too late to do that now. Still, it is wrong to deceive, cheat or mislead them, as they are as sharp to see through such management as civilized men, if not more so, for they have more time to think over transactions of this kind.

General Simon Cameron and General James Murray having been appointed Commissioners, in the summer of 1838, to divide and pay out to the creditors and half-breeds of the Winnebago Indians, according to the treaty with them, one hundred thousand dollars to the half-breeds, and one hundred thousand dollars to the traders, they repaired to Prairie du Chien for that purpose. Having business with them, I went down and found traders and half-breeds assembled there from all parts of the country; from Green Bay, and from St. Louis to the Prairie. When I got there, I was told that the Commissioners were in doubt whether they could

* By the report submitted to the House of Representatives, September 17, 1850, on the removal of the Winnebagoes, it appears that about nine hundred were forced from the Fort Winnebago region, while about three hundred remained in swamps, inaccessible to the troops hunting for them, of which there were over two regiments under Generals Worth and Brooke. In 1846, a new treaty was effected, by which it was stipulated, that they were to remove about five hundred miles north of their allotted country in Iowa; and about thirteen hundred of them did so in the summer of 1848, about four hundred still lingering in Wisconsin and Iowa. In February, 1850 quite a band of them, located between the Bad Axe and Black Rivers, became quite threatening and insolent: but they yielded to better counsels. L. C. D.

† In the Report to Congress, in 1850, on the removal of the Winnebagoes, Col. Francis Lee, commanding at Fort Howard, stated, in March of that year, that "Yellow Thunder has bought forty acres of land on Dell Creek, resides there, and is cultivating it." L. C. D.

make the payment to the traders under their instructions. I stayed there about two weeks. Still they gave out that they should have to go to Washington for new instructions. In the meantime, there was a lawyer by the name of Broadhead, who either came with the Commissioners, or followed soon after, (I was told he came on with them), who proposed buying half-breed claims, and it was notorious that Mr. Cameron was with him at his office most of the time. The half-breeds becoming uneasy, and thinking they should not get anything at this time, made up their minds that they had better sell than be on expense—it costing them one dollar a day while staying there—so, many of them sold their claims at from three to four or five hundred dollars, as they could make a bargain. I made up my mind finally, from the best information I could get, that they would not pay any, but would take the papers and go on to Washington for new instructions. I could see or hear no reason why they could not pay the half-breeds, so I concluded to go home as I had business pressing there. After I left, I was informed Governor Dodge went over to the Prairie, and advised the Commissioners to make payment on the evidence they had, and they concluded to do so.

The traders had had a meeting among themselves, and passed upon all claims; but the Commissioners would not consent to be ruled by them. I left my papers with the Commissioners, requesting a friend, as I supposed, to see to them, if anything was needed, and went home. In a few days the traders from that region and Green Bay, etc., came up swearing mad. They said the American Fur Company had been awarded most of the money; and other traders, whose accounts were equally well proved, and some much better, were put off with not to exceed five per cent. of their claims. Mr. Rouse said to me: "You have been rascally treated. Your claim was better proven than any there, and you are put off with less than five per cent.; and not only that, but you will find your particular friend has cut your throat." While I was there, it was the common talk that Cameron and Broadhead were in company; and it was said when Broadhead paid a half-breed for his claim, the money was in Middletown, Penn., bills, a bank in which General Cameron was said to have been interested.

The thing was so palpable, as I was informed, that General Street started for St. Louis, and informed Major Hitchcock (I think it

was) of the army, in whose hands the money was to pay on the requisition of the Commissioners. So when they made their appearance, he refused to pay them any money, but went on to Washington and laid the case before the Department. He was justified, and the acts of the Commissioners were repudiated. Here was an officer of the army disobeying orders, and taking the responsibility of doing so, proving that there was one honest, straight-forward man ready to run the risk of a dismissal, in vindication of justice and exposition of rascality.

It was said, whether true or not I cannot say, that Mr. Cameron declared on the boat going to St. Louis, that he had made sixty thousand dollars in the transaction; but when he got to St. Louis I think his ideas must have had a great fall. Next year a Commissioner, I was informed, was sent on, and adopted the other Commissioners' report, and all had to submit. So, possibly, there was but one year's delay in the profits. There was not many but believed the Fur Company had to bleed freely for getting the award. This was worse, I consider, than "Credit Mobilier."*

In 1839, I took charge of a fleet of lumber, and went on board a raft at the Portage, floating down the Wisconsin to its mouth, and thence to St. Louis. I had a board shanty on the raft to sleep in, a canoe or, as some called it, a "dug-out," so that when we came in sight of a town, I would jump into the canoe and paddle ahead, visit the town, and when the raft was near, go on board again. In this way I called at nearly every town on each side of the River. After leaving the Wisconsin, we had all the Wisconsin rafts locked together, and floated down the Mississippi in that way. At some towns, men would come down and take passage. I would tell them to come on. At one place there was an old backwoods-man came on board, dressed with his hunting shirt, with bullet-pouch and powder-horn strung over his shoulder, having a long heavy rifle, a quiet modest old man from Ohio. Soon after there was a man of a very different class took passage, a swaggering boast of a

* These transactions of the Commissioners in 1838 are fully set forth in a report of thirty-eight printed pages, made at the third session of the Twenty-fifth Congress, of which a copy is preserved in the library of this Society. The letters of Major E. A. Hitchcock, of the army, of November 6th and 8th, and December 3d, 1838, and March 12th, 1839; and the statements of Frederick Oliva, and of Gen. Joseph M. Street, the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, of December 10, 1838, and January 8, 1839, prove all Mr. Merrell has stated concerning the conduct of the Commissioners, so that T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was constrained to recommend to Hon. J. R. Poinsett, the Secretary of War, the rejection of the report of the Commissioners, and Mr. Poinsett endorsed on the record. "The Department will in no manner recognize these transactions," and appointed a new Commissioner.
L. C. D.

fellow from Texas. He had a small steel barrel rifle, and told many large stories. Finally he proposed to shoot at a mark with the old man for the drinks all round, it being a fine calm day. So I put up a mark at one end of the raft—a board with a piece of paper about the size of a silver dollar. The old man did not shoot as closely as I expected, and the brag rather beat him, but neither hit the mark. They then proposed that I should shoot; “well,” I said, “I will shoot the old man’s rifle,” and told him to load it. It was so heavy I could not hold it at arm’s length, so I kneeled down and rested it over one knee, and drove the nail. That pleased the old man very much. The braggart left us at Fort Madison, without saying anything about the drinks, and the old man thought that was mean, not that he cared about the drinks; but he could not get over his delight at my beating him. I considered it rather luck than expertness.

I enjoyed my trip vastly. I understood that one set of rafts, and one only, had been run down the river to St. Louis before mine; and many stories had been told of the dangers. I had a crew of Canadian Frenchmen, some of whom had had experience in Canadian waters. I got what information I could from the steam-boat men about the River, and feared nothing; but at Dubuque some Frenchmen came on board and told my men we would have to hire a pilot, that we could not get over the Rapids without; and they felt alarmed. I told them we would wait until we got to the Rapids, and if necessary we would hire a pilot. I had learned enough of the River, to know when we got to the Rapids, from the descriptions given. So when we got into them, and well down, “here,” says I, “boys, these are the great Rapids you have been so much afraid of,” at which they set up a tremendous shout and laugh. I heard no more of their fears, for it was the best running we had on the River.

In 1840, a commission was sent to me by the United States Marshal to take the census of the country; and as there was no time to be lost, I started up the Wisconsin to Messrs. Campbell and Conant’s mill, opposite where Stevens’ Point is now; there I hired two Chippewas to paddle me up to Big Bull Falls, now Wausau. Leaving my horse at Little Bull Falls, I walked up along the west channel, while the Indians carried over the canoe. At Big Bull Falls I found a mill built by Mr. George Stevens, who had not quite completed it. After getting the number of his employees,

who constituted all the inhabitants, I started back in the canoe; and on arriving at Campbell and Conant's, I engaged Francis Shaurette and his brother to take me to the Portage in a bark canoe, sending a boy with my horse.

I had quite an exciting time of it, going over Grand Rapids; but having implicit confidence in the men I had no fears. The way they would handle the canoe was admirable; the one in the bow had as much to do in steering as the one in the stern, which was done by holding his paddle in the water and turning it when he wanted to change the course of the canoe, which sometimes had to be done almost as quick as lightning; for now it would seem as though we must strike the bold rocks, and the bow seemed within a foot of them, but as quick as thought the canoe would sheer off and clear them; and such were the swells in the Rapids, that the spray would dash all over us. I sat in the middle of the canoe, and enjoyed the ride very much. Further down the River, the rock views were grand and beautiful. At one point, we saw in front of us the rocks rising in one solid perpendicular front, a hundred or more feet, with the top scalloped, and pinnacles looking like some ancient fortifications, or the battlements of some old feudal castle. I wondered where the River was going to get by it, as it was directly facing us; but the stream here took a turn, and we left the towering rock to the right of us. Then we passed through the Dells, a narrow gorge through the rocks for nine miles, ending where Kilbourn City now is; the rocks rising in some places hundreds of feet perpendicularly, and deep water lashing the rocks on both sides, the abrasions of centuries having worked out the rocks into cornices, pilasters, etc., very much resembling the work of art.

At another time, when I was coming down from the Upper Wisconsin alone on horseback, I was belated until it was so dark I could not see the trail, but had to let my faithful horse take his way, and he brought me safely into Yellow Thunder's village. Yellow Thunder was the war-chief of the Winnebagoes, and had his summer village about sixteen miles from the Portage. I dismounted and went into a large lodge, twenty or twenty-five feet long, built of poles and covered with bark. Here I found Dandy and others on a visit. Little Duck said to me, "go to my lodge"; so I followed him, and soon reached it, a little distance off. I tied my horse near the entrance of his lodge, and he gave me some corn

with which to feed him, and some boiled corn for my supper, of which I had no need, as I had some provisions along. After this he spread a clean mat on a sort of bunk, made of poles, raised two feet from the ground, reaching along the side of the lodge, for me to sleep on. On this I spread one of my blankets, and with the other one over me, lay down, and had almost got to sleep, when from the noise in the camp I discovered there were drunken Indians about. I felt something touch me, and looking up saw it was the old man, who told me to take my horse into the bushes and tie him, giving me a long cord. I jumped up and led the horse off some distance into the bushes and tied him, knowing the old Indian was afraid the drunken ones would meddle with him if they saw him. Then I returned and lay down again; but gradually a drunken Indian approached the wigwam, as we could hear him singing, crying and shouting all the time, as they generally do when they are drunk. Finally he came rushing into the lodge, and flung himself down by a few brands of fire in the center of the lodge, singing and grieving about something, I suppose because he could get no more whisky. In a short time the old man got up, calling upon another Indian, and helped up the drunken fellow and marched him off, and hearing no more of him, I slept finely.

The next morning I went out and found my horse had broken loose; and while I was looking for him, Dandy came up and wanted to know what was the matter. After telling him, he wanted to know how much cord was attached to him. Telling him as near as I could, he commenced looking for his track and soon got on it; following a short distance, he called to me and pointed out the horse, quietly standing by a large tree. I walked up to him and led him back to the lodge; and after saddling him, mounted and bade good-by to the hospitable Indians.

Judge David Irwin was to hold court at the Portage in, I think 1841 or '42. He sent me an appointment as clerk of the court, and as there was no time to lose, requested me to go to Columbus and have a jury list made out, and put into the hands of the Sheriff. I did so, and the Judge held the first court in this county, at the Franklin House, kept by Captain Low; after which I resigned.

In 1848, I was elected State Senator in the second district, which embraced all that part of the State north of Dane county to Lake Superior, and including Sank, Marquette, Green Lake, and Portage

counties, since divided into eight or ten districts. I was elected as the Whig candidate over Hon. James T. Lewis, the Democratic nominee. In the Senate there were but three Whigs. I served during this, the first session under the Constitution, which met at Madison on the fifth day of June, 1848, and during the next session, which met on the tenth day of January, 1849. During these two sessions, there was an immense deal of work done in organizing the State, revising the statutes, etc., etc.

My first visit to La Crosse was in 1853, when I arrived in company with Benjamin L. Webb, of Detroit. La Crosse was then but a small village. The United States land office had been removed there from Mineral Point. We met Judge Lord, Colonel Rodolph, Hon. S. D. Hastings, Lieutenant-Governor Timothy Burns, Ebenezer Childs, with whom I had long been acquainted, and many others. We stopped at the Tallmadge House over Sunday; in the afternoon, I took a ramble nearly to the bluffs. La Crosse now, I believe, contains about twelve thousand inhabitants; then there could not, I should think, have been as many hundreds.

We then took steamer for St. Paul, and a carriage thence a hundred miles above, crossing the Mississippi thirty miles west of Long Prairie, where the Winnebagoes were located, cultivating the lands assigned them by the Government; but they were uneasy, as I learned, for they were afraid of the Chippewa and Sioux Indians, which I suppose, was the reason of their subsequent removal to a less exposed region. We returned by way of Galena to Fort Winnebago.

Some years after I settled at Portage, John Baptist Dubay came there, and for some time traded with the Indians, the American Fur Company furnishing him with goods; but he finally moved up the Wisconsin at a trading post above Stevens' Point. When the canal at Portage was made, Nelson McNeil leased from the State the water power, and built a mill, and when the Military Reserve was sold out, about thirty acres was reserved by the Government to go with the water-power to the State, or rather to the Fox River Company, as the State had turned over the Improvement to them. Dubay was made to believe he had a claim there, having lived on the same land. The Fur Company had, through their agents, lived upon it for several years; and some men standing high in the State contended that Dubay had a claim upon the land, and tried hard to

get Congress, and I believe the Legislature, to recognize it, which appeared strange to me; for I well knew there was not any legitimate claim there, for the Fur Company could not pre-empt. McNeil sold out his mill and lease to Reynolds & Craigh, and they went to putting up a house for the millers. Dubay had a small house on the land not far from where they commenced building. They had had the studding put up and a part of the roof boards on, when Dubay went over there and took an axe and chopped it down. Afterwards Reynolds went over to look at it, and as he passed the house some words occurred between them, when Dubay went into his house and got his gun and shot, killing Reynolds immediately. This tragical event took place August 15, 1857.

I was standing in the street in front of my house, perhaps half a mile from the mill, when McNeil came past, his horse on a run; as he passed me he said: "Dubay has shot Reynolds." I immediately went down to the mill, and found several men standing there watching the house; but none dare go near it. I inquired if any one was watching to see if he escaped into the woods, and was informed there was. Soon a wagon drove up, filled with men who jumped out, and called for a rope; while they were going into the mill, Sheriff Edward F. Lewis drove up in a buggy, and crossed over the other side of the canal to the house, and hurried Dubay into the buggy and drove up the north bank of the canal. When the men saw that move, they jumped into the wagon and drove back the way they came. I knowing Lewis could not get over on that bank, concluded the men would catch him; but Lewis drove as far as he could, and left the buggy and horse, and hurried Dubay on foot, getting to the jail before the men got around, as they had some distance farther to go to get the wagon through. Quite a crowd assembled, determined to lynch Dubay; but Lewis foiled them. One man by the name of Mason cried, "come on, boys;" but as he made a rush for the door, Lewis stood there with a pair of iron shackles in his hand, and as Mason rushed at him he hit him over the head, knocking him down. So no others backed him up, and the mob dispersed. The wildest excitement ensued. An attempt was made to lynch the murderer; but Sheriff Lewis, by diligent effort, secured him as a prisoner, and took him to Madison, where he was tried twice, the jury not agreeing. So he was discharged, but he never dared to visit Portage again. He is yet living at the old trading

post above Stevens' Point; and I am told has expressed his sorrow for killing Reynolds, and is very much cast down in consequence. William S. Reynolds was highly spoken of by those who knew him.

SKETCH OF OFFICERS AT FORT WINNEBAGO, IN 1834, AND SUBSEQUENTLY.

A brief notice of these army officers whom Mr. Merrell found in service at Fort Winnebago in 1834, seems desirable:

Col. Enos Cutler, born at Brookfield, Mass., Nov 1, 1781, graduated at Brown University at the age of nineteen, was tutor there a year, and then studied law in Cincinnati. He entered the army in 1803, as Lieutenant, promoted to a Captaincy in 1810, serving through the war of 1812, as Assistant Adjutant General, and Assistant Inspector General; Major in 1814; served under General Jackson in the Creek War, and on the Seminole campaign. made Lieut. Colonel in 1826; Colonel in 1836; resigning in 1839, and dying at Salem, Mass., July 14, 1860.

Nathan Clark, of Connecticut, entered the service in 1813; rose to the rank of Captain in 1824; brevet Major in June 1834; and died at Fort Winnebago, February 18, 1836.

Gideon Low, of Pennsylvania, entered the army as an Ensign in 1812, rising by regular gradations to a Captaincy in 1828; resigned in February, 1840, and died at Fort Winnebago, in May, 1850.

Joseph Plympton was born at Sudbury, Mass., March 24, 1787, entered the army as a Lieutenant in January, 1812, serving with distinction on the northern frontier during the war of 1812-15; Captain in 1821; Major in 1840; commanded in the attack on the Seminoles, near Dunn's Lake, Florida, January 25, 1842; Lieut. Colonel, September, 1846, and led his regiment under Gen. Scott in Mexico, and won brevets for gallantry at Cerro Gordo and Contreras. He was promoted to Colonel in 1853, and died at Staten Island, June 5, 1860.

Edgar M. Lacey, of New York, a cadet from 1822 to 1827, when he entered the army as Second Lieutenant; First Lieutenant, 1835;

Captain, 1838; serving from 1831 to 1838 at Fort Winnebago, then at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, where he died April 2, 1839, at the age of thirty-two years.

Horatio P. Van Cleve, of New Jersey, a cadet from 1827 to 1831, when he entered the army as Second Lieutenant, resigning in 1836, and becoming a civil engineer in Michigan.

Alexander Johnston, a native of Pennsylvania, a cadet from 1820 to 1824, when he entered the army, serving at Fort Snelling from 1825 to 1827, at Fort Crawford in 1827-28, and at Fort Winnebago 1831-35, during which he participated in the Black Hawk war, and was in the battle of Bad Axe, Captain in 1836; and died at Pittsburgh, Pa., June 8, 1845, at the age of thirty-nine years.

John T. Collingsworth, of Tennessee, a cadet from 1826 to 1830, when he entered the army, serving on the frontier, being at Fort Winnebago from 1833 to 1836, in which latter year he resigned, and became Inspector General of the army of the Republic of Texas, and died there January 28, 1837, at the age of twenty-eight.

Daniel Ruggles, a native of Massachusetts, a cadet from 1829 to 1833, when he entered the army, serving at Fort Winnebago from 1833 to 1835, and again in 1838; served with reputation in the Mexican War, becoming a Captain and brevet Major and Lieut. Colonel, resigning in 1861, and joining the Confederates, and surviving the war.

John Chester Reid, a native of Massachusetts, a cadet from 1828 to 1833, when he entered the army, serving at Fort Winnebago in 1833-34, and again in 1836-37; was aid-de-camp to General Gaines from 1837 to 1845; served in the military occupation of Texas in 1845, and died November 17, in that year, at Wheeling, at the age of thirty-one years.

Lieutenant Hooe has elsewhere been noticed.

Lyman Foot, of Connecticut, entered the army in 1818 as a Surgeon Mate, becoming a Surgeon in 1831, and dying at Port Lavaca, Texas, October 24, 1846.

Robert A. McCabe, a native of Pennsylvania, entered the army as an Ensign in January, 1812; participated in the battle of Maguago, in Michigan, after which he was promoted to a Lieutenancy and to a Captaincy in 1824, serving much on the North-western frontier. He resigned in October, 1833. He conducted two emigrating parties

of Pottawattamies to their new home up the Missouri. He was made Indian Agent and postmaster at Fort Winnebago in 1833; from 1836 to 1840 he was sutler at Mackinaw, and died prior to 1845.

Of the officers in command of Fort Winnebago after 1834, we append the following notices:

John Green, a native of Pennsylvania, entered the army in March, 1812, serving through the war that ensued, and attaining the rank of Captain in 1814, Brevet Major in 1824, Major in 1833, Lieutenant Colonel in 1838; dying at Tallahassee, Florida, September 21, 1840.

Waddy V. Cobbs, a native of Virginia, entered the army as an Ensign in 1813, rose to Captain in 1810, a Major in 1838, and died at Exeter, N. H., January 1, 1848.

James S. McIntosh, born in Liberty county, Georgia, June 19, 1787; entered the army in 1812; was in the affair at Sandy Creek, and wounded near Black Rock, August 3, 1814; afterwards served under General Jackson; Captain in 1817; Major in 1836; Lieutenant Colonel in 1839; and serving with great distinction in the Mexican war, having been wounded during the battles of May 9, 1846, and mortally wounded at Molino del Rey, dying in the city of Mexico, September 26, in that year.

Ferdinand S. Mumford, of New York, a cadet from 1834 to 1838, when he entered the army as Second Lieutenant; First Lieutenant in 1839, Captain in 1848, resigning in August, 1849. L. C. D.

Langlade's Movements in 1777.

Copies of the following letters, written by the British Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, while stationed at Mackinaw, and addressed to Sir Guy Carleton, then Governor of the Province of Quebec, have been furnished by Joseph Tasse, Esq., and had they been received in time, they would have been appended to his paper on Langlade. They were obtained from the British Record Office, and possess much interest. L. C. D.

MICHILLIMAKINAK, *12th April, 1777.*

SIR: I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency, that the season affords me early opportunity of sending off provisions to meet Mr. Langlade's Indians at La Baye (Green Bay).

I have seen many Indians during the course of the winter who are well inclined; the only fear now is, not being able to prevent the whole country from going down. Such as are prevented will take it ill. They must, however, be diverted from it.

MICHILLIMAKINAK, *4th June, 1777.*

SIR: Mr. Langlade arrived here with sixty Indians from La Baye. He says he expects more; but I fear they will come too late. I have completed him with the number required from this post. The nations here have accounts that Spanish Agents have been among their neighbors. If it be true, I suppose it is to draw off the trade during these troubles. The news, however, has made the Indians rather more difficult to move than I expected, such is their curiosity and fear; for I think I may affirm they are all well inclined. The embarkation is now ready, and will take place immediately. I must beg leave to refer you to Mr. Langlade for further particulars.

MICHILLIMAKINAK, 6th June 1777.

SIR: Since Mr. Langlade's departure for the Island,* I have received on express from Mr. Laurent Ducharme, at Milwaukee, informing that the chief Siginakee or Letourneau † has received a parole from the Spanish Commandant to raise all the Indians between the Mississippi and the Little Detroit of La Baye.

I am sensible we can undersell the Spaniards; but still I am led to believe they can only have views of trade, flattering themselves with gaining that advantage during our troubles. The enclosed letter from a trader will at least confirm that the Spaniards rather favor the English traders. I must, however, observe that my intelligence from Milwaukee is dated the fifteenth of May. Mr. Ducharme assures me, that he will be upon the lookout, and come off to me immediately, should anything happen to require it.

Yesterday arrived here a number of strange Indians, all fine looking men, without one woman or child. They decline going down the country; but proffer the greatest friendship. I shall have a strict eye upon them.

Mr. Langlade has left me his papers. When they can be digested into a regular account, I will forward them. The 2,776 livres referred to me by your Excellency's order, I have caused a merchant to pay him, as he said he could not do without it. I begin to perceive that he wants some looking after. I believe him to be strictly honest, and quite disinterested; but I see he retains all the French customs. Nothing so easy given as a *bon au compt du Roi*. In short, he can refuse the Indians nothing they can ask, and they will lose nothing for want of asking.

The presents Mr. Langlade brought up for the Menomonies, he tells me have been pillaged, and believes before they left Montreal, whilst he was sick. I shall take the first opportunity to have them examined, and shall transmit him the bill of parcels. Whether

* This doubtless refers to Mackinaw Island, where there was a settlement of the Ottawas, to whom Langlade was related by the ties of consanguinity. At this time, the fort was a few miles distant on the main land. L. C. D.

† This chief Sig-e-nauk, called by the French Letourneau or Blackbird, lived at Milwaukee, and appears to have given the British much trouble. At a grand council held at Mackinaw, July 4, 1779, Maj. De Peyster delivered a speech to the Indians, urging them to go upon the war-path against the Americans, which speech he subsequently put into rhyme, in which he thus alludes to the Milwaukee band as "a horrid set of refractory Indians"—horrid and refractory because they would not obey the behests of their would-be British masters:

"Those renegates of Milwakie,
Must now per force with you agree:
Sly Siggennaak and Naakewoin,
Must with Langlade their forces join "

L. C. D.

they have been robbed or not, by the bulk they appear to be more than they deserve at present, after so many of them shamefully leaving Langlade yesterday. They took a French-leave of me, or I should have sent them after him, as I did a party of his Ouinipigoes.* As the wind is very slight, I am in hopes this will find him in the Island.†

MICHILLIMAKINAK, *17th of June, 1777.*

SIR: The Saukes and Renards or Ottagamis arrived, as I have already observed to your Excellency, under the conduct of M. Gaultier, whom Mr. Langlade had employed to raise them.

It appears from the report of every credible trader, and even from Gaultier's enemies, that he is the only person who could have effected it in the critical situation he found things in the Mississippi country. His indefatigable industry to stop the Rebel belt, etc., to divert that of the Spaniards, shews that though he may have been guilty of an imprudence below, he still is a good subject at heart, which I hope will apologize for my letting him go down; as in so doing, I comply with the earnest request of the Indians, who declare they cannot do without him, as he speaks their language, and is thoroughly acquainted with their customs, manners, &c.

I am informed that upon Gaultier's hearing that his conduct had been censured, he immediately sold off his goods even at disadvantage, in order to devote himself to the service, part of which Langdale took for the Indians.

Every report confirms that the Rebels have drawn the batteau load of powder from the Mississippi by the Wabash under a guard of a hundred men.‡ This report alarmed the Indians here till I proved to them, that it must go hard with them when driven to such necessity.

The Rebel belt was forwarded from Detroit, by the Ottawa chief Howaggishikee, and the Spanish belt was in the hands of M. Hubert, an inhabitant of New Orleans, formerly in the French service. The true nature of the latter is perhaps still a secret. Hubert said

*Winnebagoes.

†Probably Mackinaw Island.

‡This refers to the expedition of Capt. George Gibson and Lieut. William Linn, in behalf of Virginia, to New Orleans, in 1776, for a supply of powder, with which they returned early in 1777.

L. C. D.

it was to invite the chiefs of the different nations to assemble at the Spanish fort, and hear what their Father had to communicate. Gaultier thereupon told M. Hubert that the Indians, on this side the River, knew of only one Father, and therefore must not listen to his message: Several traders joined him in opposing Hubert, who accordingly retired. The Spaniards may perhaps want to settle a peace between our Indians and theirs; but any talk with the natives at present would greatly alarm the Indians in this quarter, especially as the Rebels have so lately appeared in their dominions.

Recollections of Wisconsin in February, 1837.

BY J. A. NOONAN.

In looking through the 6th volume of Wisconsin Historical Collections, I find some little inaccuracies, to which I beg to call your attention.

On page 348, in a note, you say: "In February, 1837, immediately after the selection of Madison for the capitol, John Catlin and Moses M. Strong came out from Mineral Point, and staked out the central part of the village plat, etc."

This is true, but not the whole truth. In the early part of February, 1837, I made an arrangement with Judge Doty, at Green Bay, to go to Mineral Point, and get a surveying party to go to Madison, and meander the shores of Third and Dead Lakes, with a view of platting the western addition to Madison, and to stake out some lots in the main part of the plat near where the Capitol now stands. At Mineral Point, I employed Moses M. Strong. John Catlin and George Messersmith to go to Madison, and do the required surveying. Mr. Strong was the civil engineer, the rest of us common hands. Mr. Messersmith took a sleigh and a span of horses from his father's barn, at Messers' Grove, four miles west of Heacox's house; and with supplies obtained at Mineral Point, we set out on our expedition.

We followed the military road to Berry Haney's, at Black Earth, and went from there to St. Cyr's, and crossing the Fourth Lake, struck the south shore a little west from where the University farm now is. I was on horseback, the rest of the party were in the sleigh. Before we had selected a camping spot, a severe snow

storm came upon us, and we put back to St. Cyr's, and took a fresh start in the morning.

It was very dark, the snow beating upon us fast, and but for Strong's tact and experience as a frontiers-man, I do not believe we could have effected the crossing of the Lake. The next morning we returned, and made our camp on the marsh, and near a spring and running water, on section twenty-second.* From the northwest corner of that section we took our bearings along the section line to the Dead Lake—more properly Duck or Wingra Lake—the last name I learned from Joe Pelkie, the early French settler, was the Indian name for that body of water; and I had it so entered on the map in that month of February, by Heading and Delaplaine, of Milwaukee. We meandered the Dead Lake to its outlet, and then commenced with the Third Lake at our line. We then changed our quarters to near the head of the Third Lake; and I remember George Messersmith and I undertook to cut through the ice for water, and we had to cut from six to twelve inches deeper than the length of our axe handle. What we supposed would be but the work of a few minutes, we found a wearisome job before we got through with it.

After four days surveying, the work for the party with which I was interested was done, and provisions getting scarce, I started for Milwaukee *via* the First Lake. The first night, I stayed with Pelkie and Armell, two French traders that lived with squaws on the east side of the First Lake. There I found plenty of forage for my horse, and some excellent potatoes for myself. I made a hearty supper and breakfast of roasted potatoes and salt, and with a large roasted potatoe in each pocket of my overcoat, I started in the morning for Fort Atkinson.

Uncle Dwight Foster, and perhaps Milo Jones, lived at the Fort; but there was no house along Rock River between there and Janesville; nor was it known there was any on the River between the Fort and Watertown. I was warmly clad, had a fleet and well trained frontier horse, and I had a sectional Territorial map and pocket compass. The snow was from twelve to fifteen inches deep. The country between the First Lake and Rock River had been miserably surveyed, and I could find no section lines or corners to

* John Catlin, in Durrie's History of Madison, says: "We found the snow very deep, and after a hard day's work, wading in the snow, we camped at night between the Third Lake (Monona) and Dead Lake (Wingra), where we found some thick timber and a sheltered spot."

guide me. Under the circumstances, I took the wind for my guide, and, not wishing to strike Rock River below the Fort, I bore north of a direct line to the Fort. The result was, I struck Rock River near where Jefferson now is; and, to my delight, found a house there, occupied by a family which had arrived that afternoon from Milwaukee, and hence I spent the first night with the late Captain Masters* and his family in their new home.

There was but one house between Jefferson and Prairieville, now Waukesha, and that was at Bark River Mill. There were but two houses at Prairieville, viz.: those of Mr. Walton and Mr. McMillen. At Walton's I met Messrs. Alvin and Ed. Foster, with their wives, on their way from Oneida county, N. Y., to Fort Atkinson. Between Prairieville and Milwaukee there were but two houses, Robert Curran's, at Brookfield, and the Parson's house at Wauwatosa. Good, honest old Wm. O. Underwood, if he had settled in Wauwatosa at that time, his house was off the traveled road, and I did not know of its existence.

I have thus stated my first visit to what is now Madison, and my return trip. I will now give some of the points and settlements on my outward journey. When I started from Milwaukee for Green Bay, and thence to Mineral Point, I went with the mail carrier, an Indian half-breed named Powell, and two or three of the firm of Jones, King & Co., of Chicago, who were going to visit their embryo city, where Manitowoc now stands. The mail carrier, as well as the Chicago men, were on runners. A gentleman from Buffalo, named Shearer, and myself were on horseback. He was destined for Arena, Iowa county, and was told the nearest way from Milwaukee there was *via* Green Bay and Fort Winnebago. It was the only traveled route. He was my traveling companion as far as Skinner's Grove, beyond Blue Mounds. There was then no house between Milwaukee and Sheboygan. Where Grafton now is, there had been partly put up the body of a log house on a new-made claim.

At Sheboygan the only house was a hotel erected by the company owning the village plat. There was no house between there and Manitowoc, and the only buildings in Manitowoc county were a saw mill and two dwellings at Manitowoc Rapids, owned by Jacob M. Conroe. There was no house between Manitowoc Rapids

* Hon. E. D. Masters, who served a term in the State Senate in 1859-60.

and Depere; and the road from Milwaukee to Depere was a trail cut the width of a wagon track. Between Depere and the Indian settlements in Calumet county, the only house we found was that of Mr. Wright, at Wrightstown. There was but one house at Fond du Lac, and that was Mr. Pier's, on the west bank of the River; and none between Fond du Lac and Fort Winnebago, except the one twelve miles from the Fort, on Pauquette's farm. The Monday Mr. Shearer and I rode from Fond du Lac to Pauquette's, the thermometer ranged over twenty-two degrees below zero. It was about ten days subsequently that Messersmith and I cut through the thick ice of Third Lake.

You are right in according to Governor Doty the honor of naming Dane county. He told me he suggested the name to the Hon. Ebenezer Brigham, and Mr. Brigham afterwards corroborated the statement made by Doty.

When I took up my pen I intended to occupy only a single page of letter paper, but the subject of the early life and times of Wisconsin is one so fruitful to me that I do not know when to stop.

Note on Eleazer Williams.

BY HON. C. C. TROWBRIDGE.

I was much interested in Hon. John Y. Smith's exhaustive review of "Louis XVII." If it had not been exhaustive, I could have thrown in a little to make it so. The Ogdens, of New York, purchased of that State the reversionary rights of the Six Nations—the General Government being desirous to see the remnants of those tribes "comfortably settled in some fertile spot so far away from the haunts of the white man, that they would would never be disturbed"; and some of the Indians—especially of the Senecas—being disposed to remove, Mr. Calhoun transmitted to Governor Cass, in 1821, copies of correspondence which had taken place on the subject, and requested him to select some person to accompany a delegation from the Six Nations to the Menomonies of Green Bay, which, you perceive, was then thought to be the place answering to the President's desire, for the isolation of the Red Men of New York.

The Governor honored me with the appointment, turned over the correspondence, gave me a letter of introduction to Major John Biddle, the Indian Agent at Green Bay, and another to myself—referring to the correspondence as containing the views of the Government for my guidance. The Indian Agent was absent. The commanding officer at Fort Howard, Colonel Pinckney, had just arrived, and was unacquainted with the inhabitants. My party from the Six Nations, consisting of the Rev. Eleazer Williams, agent and interpreter, Jamieson, an educated Seneca chief, and several other Indians, with myself as agent, were thrown upon our own resources. We consulted Mr. Rouse, a leading trader; and, under his advice, we sent an invitation to the Menomonees to meet us in council. They came. The whole plan was frankly laid before them.

After the usual amount of puffing, in speeches and from pipes, the Menomonees signed a treaty of cession for a narrow strip of land, extending south east and north west as far as they had any claim. The treaty was not approved by the Government. Some said because it was too indefinite—others because it conveyed too much territory.

The next year the New York Indians were encouraged to try again, and Mr. Williams wrote to me requesting that I would accompany a delegation as agent; but being under orders for other duty in the Indian Department, I did not accept. In the first effort, and in the correspondence of the next year and subsequently, Mr. Williams was the agent and interpreter of the delegation. I knew him well at that time, and long afterwards. Governor Cass also knew him well, and saw him often. We used to compare notes about him, and we regarded him as "rather fishy." And when his claim to heirship of the throne of *Le Grand Monarque* came before the public, the Governor laughed heartily.

Williams had all the peculiarities of a half-breed Indian, as undoubtedly he was. What these are, no doubt your long residence in the West has brought to your notice. If he had been otherwise, mentally or morally, his hair and complexion would have stamped him as of mixed savage and civilized blood. And he had, moreover, that peculiar tint of complexion which distinguishes the half-breeds among the Six Nations from those of the West.

I knew his wife, who was a Miss Jourdain, daughter of the blacksmith to the Indian Department at Green Bay, and a pretty but uneducated half-breed. I spent the summer of 1823 at Green Bay, as *locum tenens* for Major Henry Brevoort, the Indian Agent, who was sick at Detroit, and all my impressions about Williams were deepened and confirmed.

DETROIT, September 24, 1872.

Sketch of Shau-be-na, a Pottowattamie Chief.

BY N. MATSON.

The following incidents in the early history of Shau-be-na are principally taken from his own statements, and the truth of them, no person acquainted with the old chief will doubt. My first acquaintance with Shau-be-na occurred nearly forty years ago, while his whole band, one hundred and forty-two in number, were hunting on Bureau River, Illinois. Being encamped near my father's residence, I visited them almost daily for many weeks, and always felt myself at home in the old chief's wigwam.

Shau-be-na was above the medium size, tall and straight, with broad shoulders and intelligent face, while his bearing and general appearance showed him to be no ordinary Indian. According to his statement, he was born in the year 1775 or 1776, at an Indian village on the Kankakee River, now in Will county. He was of the Ottawa tribe. His father came from Michigan with Pontiac, about the year 1767, being one of the small band of warriors who fled from their native country with that noted chief, after his defeat.* Shau-be-na married a daughter of a Pottawattamie chief who had a village on the Illinois, a short distance above the mouth of the Fox River; and, at his death, which occurred a few years afterwards, Shau-be-na was made head chief of the band. The following year they abandoned their village on the Illinois River, on account of sickness, and made a new one at Shau-be-na's Grove, now in DeKalb county, where they were found in the early settlement of the country.

* It was in 1764—See Parkman's Pontiac.

In 1810, Tecumseh after meeting Governor Harrison, in council at Vincennes, came west for the purpose of enlisting the different Indian tribes in repelling the encroachments of the whites. On a warm afternoon in the early part of Indian summer, Tecumseh accompanied by three other chiefs, all mounted on spirited black ponies, arrived at the village. On the following day, a dog was killed, a feast made, and the succeeding night spent in songs and dances. Shau-be-na accompanied the visitors to a number of villages on the Illinois River, and listened to Tecumseh's stirring eloquence in behalf of his great scheme of uniting all the Western tribes in a war against the whites. After visiting many Pottawattamie villages, they went on Rock River among the Winnebagoes and Menomonies, touching at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, and descending the Mississippi as far as Rock Island. At this point, Shau-be-na parted from his companions, and returned home; while Tecumseh and his friends continued their journey as far south-west as Missouri.

The ensuing summer, Shau-be-na was with Tecumseh in his council with Governor Harrison, at Vincennes, and accompanied that chief South, spending the summer and fall among the different Southern tribes, in efforts to induce them to join Tecumseh's Indian confederacy. It was late in the fall when they reached home, about two weeks after the battle of Tippecanoe; and passing over the field of slaughter, they saw the remains of the soldiers which had been disinterred by the Indians, and scattered over the ground.

Runners from Tecumseh visited many of the Pottawattamie villages in the ensuing summer of 1812, informing the people that war had been declared between the United States and Great Britain, and offering the warriors large rewards to fight for the latter. They also wanted a force raised to go immediately to Chicago and take Fort Dearborn before the garrison was aware that war had been declared. Shau-be-na intended to stay at home and take no part in the contest; but on learning that a large company of warriors from other villages, as well as a few of his own band, had gone to Chicago, he mounted his pony and followed them, arriving there after the soldiers were massacred. The part he took under the leadership of Black Partridge in saving the lives of prisoner and guarding the house of John Kinzie, was thus related by Shau-be-na himself to the writer:

It was in the afternoon of the fatal day, a few hours after the battle, when, in company with twenty-two warriors, he arrived at Chicago. Along the beach of the Lake, where the battle was fought, lay forty-one dead bodies—the remains of soldiers, women and children—all of which were scalped, and more or less mutilated. The body of Capt. Wells was lying in one place, and his head in another; these remains were gathered up by Black Partridge, and buried in the sand near where he fell. The prisoners were taken to the Indian encampment, and closely guarded, to prevent their escape. John Kinzie, an Indian trader, whose house stood on the north side of the river, opposite to Fort Dearborn, had been for some years trading with the Indians, and among them he had many friends. By special favor he was allowed to return to his own house, accompanied by his family, and the wife of Lieut. Helm, who was badly wounded.

That evening, about sundown, a council of chiefs was called to decide the fate of the prisoners; and it was agreed to deliver them to the British commander at Detroit, in accordance with the terms of the capitulation. After dark, many warriors from a distance came into camp, who were thirsting for blood, and were determined to murder the prisoners, regardless of the stipulated terms of surrender. Black Partridge, with a few of his friends, surrounded Kinzie's house, to protect the inmates from the tomahawks of these blood-thirsty savages. Shau-be-na said that he and other warriors were standing on the porch, with their guns crossing the doorway, when a body of hostile warriors, with blackened faces, rushed by them, forcing their way into the house.

The parlor was now full of Indians, who stood with their tomahawks and scalping knives awaiting the signal from their chief, when they would commence the work of death. Black Partridge said to Mrs. Kinzie: "We have done everything in our power to save you, but all is now lost; you and your friends, together with all the prisoners of the camp, will be slain." At that moment a canoe was heard approaching the shore, when Black Partridge ran down to the River, trying in the darkness to make out the new comers, and at the same time shouted—"Who are you, friend or foe?" In the bow of the approaching canoe stood a tall, manly personage, with a rifle in his hand; and as the canoe came to shore, he jumped off on the beach, exclaiming in a loud clear voice, the musical notes

of which rang forth on the still night air: "I am the Sau-ga-nash!"* "Then," said Black Partridge, "hasten to the house, for our friends are in danger, and you alone can save them." Billy Caldwell, for it was he, ran to the house, entering the parlor, which was full of Indians, and by threats and entreaties prevailed on them to abandon their murderous design; and by him Kinzie's family, with the prisoners at the Fort, were saved from death. Such was Shau-be-na's unvarnished narrative.

Late in the fall of 1812, as Shau-be-na and his band were about going to Bureau for their winter hunt, a runner from Tecumseh arrived with a large package of presents, consisting of rings, beads, and various kinds of ornaments, mostly for the squaws, and with an offer of money, goods, etc., if he and his warriors would join him. The winter hunt was abandoned, and on the following day, Shau-be-na and twenty-two warriors started for the River Raisin. On the St. Joseph's River they overtook Col. Dixon's recruits of about five hundred warriors under the command of Black Hawk, who had followed around the Lake from Green Bay.

Shau-be-na was aid to Tecumseh, and stood by his side when the noted Shawanoe chief was shot by Col. Johnson, at the battle of the Thames. Shau-be-na related that Johnson's mounted men charged the Indian line at a gallop, and the forlorn hope of the party were all killed or wounded except a single one; and the old chief added, that he was by Tecumseh's side when the officer on a white horse — whom he always referred to as Col. Johnson — shot him with a pistol; and at the same moment Shau-be-na sprang forward to tomahawk the slayer of the great chief; but Johnson's horse reared and fell dead, having been pierced by many bullets, and his wounded rider was rescued by his white comrades. With the fall of their chief the Indians fled, and Shau-be-na with them, and, he said, he never after fought for the British cause. He was fond of talking about this battle.†

Years after, when Col. Johnson was Vice-President, Shau-be-na visited Washington and called on the Colonel, and together they talked over the incidents of the Thames campaign, after which the

*Billy Caldwell, called by the Indians Sau-ga-nash, or Englishman. was a half-breed, said to have been a son of Col. Caldwell, a British officer. He was one of the principal chiefs among the Pottawattamies, and was well known by the early settlers of Chicago.

† Another account of Shau-be-na's, relative to the battle and Tecumseh's death, may be found in the IVth Vol. of Wis. Hist. Collections, p. 375-76, as communicated by Hon. John T. Kingston. L. C. D.

Vice-President took the old chief by the arm, and introduced him to the heads of the Departments. On leaving Washington, Johnson gave him a heavy gold ring as a token of friendship, which he wore on his finger to the day of his death, and by his request it was buried with him.

In the summer of 1819, John C. Sullivan, under the direction of Commissioners Graham and Phillips, surveyed the old Indian boundary line* extending from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, at the mouth of Rock River. Shau-be-na was employed by this surveying party, and accompanied them over the whole route, while his hunters supplied them with meat.

When the early pioneers settled in this section of the country, he became a frequent visitor to their cabins, and was known everywhere as the white man's friend. During the year 1831, '32, and '33, as the settlers were frequently alarmed by reports of threatening hostilities, Shau-be-na was often consulted, and his advice generally taken. Thus he became known personally, or by reputation, throughout the country, and all that was necessary for him to receive a hearty welcome at any cabin was his peculiar manner of introducing himself as "Mr. Shau-be-na."

In February, 1832, the chiefs of most of the Pottawattamie villages met in council at Indiantown. Black Hawk and the Prophet were in attendance, and made long speeches in favor of uniting all the different tribes to make war on the frontier settlements. After the death of Black Partridge and Se-nach-wine, no chief among the Pottawattamies exerted so much influence as Shau-be-na. Although not a great orator, his knowledge of human nature, and his earnest manner of making his appeals, more than counterbalanced the eloquence of others. At this council, no Pottawattamie chief of note, except Wau-bun-sie, spoke in favor of union. Thus Black Hawk's scheme was thwarted and the council broke up. Shau-be-na said to the writer a few years afterwards, if he had favored this union, all the Pottawattamies from the Lake to the Mississippi would have taken part with Black Hawk.

In the spring of 1832, when the Sacs and Foxes crossed the Mississippi, Black Hawk sent two runners, one of whom was his own son, to notify the Indians on Bureau, and to obtain volunteers among the warriors. At that time Shau-be-na with his band were

* In 1840, Wisconsin claimed all of the land north of this line under the Ordinance of 1787.

encamped at a point of timber about two mile, south-east of Princeton; and Joel Doolittle, whose cabin stood near by, noticed these emissaries, with painted faces, and their heads adorned with eagle feathers, enter the camp. Their arrival appeared to cause much excitement and confusion—the camp was broken up, ponies caught, and Shau-be-na and his band left for their home, saying to one of the settlers as he took his departure, he feared there was trouble ahead.

On the day after Stillman's defeat, Shau-be-na knowing that more parties would immediately attack the frontier settlements, lost no time in notifying the people of their danger. He sent Pypa-gee, his son, and Pyps, his nephew, to Fox River, and Holderman's Grove settlements, while he hastened to give warning to the settlers on Bureau and Indian Creek. The morning of May 16th was bright and clear, and the settlers on Bureau were busy putting in their crops, not knowing that hostilities had commenced, nor thinking of danger from their red foe, when Shau-be-na was seen riding at full speed, without gun or blanket, his long hair streaming in the wind, and his pony covered with foam, calling at each cabin, and in his bad English telling the people to flee for their lives, as the enemy would in all probability be on them before the setting sun. A few hours afterward, not a family was left in the Bureau settlement; and the sequel shows they had no time to lose, as the notorious half-breed Girty, with seventy or eighty warriors, visited some of the cabins, while the fire was still burning on the hearth. Shau-be-na continued his mission of mercy to Indian Creek settlement; some of the settlers fled from their homes, but the families of Davies, Hall and Pettigrew* disregarded the warning, and paid the forfeit with their lives—fifteen persons were slain, and two girls taken prisoners.

In 1836, the Indian Agent notified Shau-be-na's band that they must go west to lands assigned them by the Government, in accordance with treaty stipulations. As no one but the chief and his family could remain on the reservation,† Shau-be-na concluded to accompany his people, as he could not think of parting with them. Accordingly in August of that year, they left their ancient homes, came to Bureau, hunted about two months, and then left for the west.

* In Wakeheld's Hist. of the Black Hawk War, this name is given as Pennigrow, but the correct orthography seems to have been Pettigrew.

† This reservation consisted of two sections, mostly of timber.

About one year after going west, Shau-be-na, with his family, returned to this country, saying that he barely escaped with his life. The Sacs and Foxes, on account of the part he had taken in the late war, tried to kill him; they killed his son and nephew, and hunted him down as though he was a wild beast.

Shau-be-na, with his two wives, children and grand children, making in all some twenty-five persons, lived at the Grove until 1849. Some time previous to this, he sold a tract of land to Azel and Orrin Gates, and with the proceeds of the sale had his farm improved so that the rents of it would clothe his family. In the spring of 1849, Shau-be-na with his family went to Kansas, leaving his farm in care of Mr. Norton, who agreed to collect and save the rents until he came back. He was gone three years, and on his return found his land had been sold by the Government at a public land sale at Dixon, the Land Office Commissioner having decided that it was only a reservation to Shau-be-na, not a title in fee simple, and when he left it, his title failed. When Shau-be-na returned and found all his possessions gone, he cried like a child. The owner of the land, where he camped, cursed him for cutting tent poles, and ordered him to leave. This Grove had been his home for nearly fifty years; here was the grave of his first wife and two of his children, as well as many of his friends. and with a sorrowful heart he left it forever.

The friends of Shau-be-na raised money to buy for him a small tract of land on the Illinois River near Seneca, on which they built a house, and put part of the tract under cultivation. Shau-be-na used the house for storing purposes, while he lived in a tent near by. The old chief died on the 10th of July, 1859, at about the age of eighty-four years, and was buried with much pomp in Morris cemetery. In 1861, money was subscribed to raise a monument over his remains; but the war broke out, and the scheme was abandoned. Only a small board marks the resting place of this friend of the white man.

Princeton, Bureau Co., Ill.

Memoir of Hon. George Gale.

BY D. S. DURRIE.

One of the objects set forth in the Constitution of this Society, is "to rescue from oblivion the memory of the early pioneers of the State," by appropriate memorial sketches, and the performance of this duty is one which we should sacredly fulfill on all suitable occasions.

The present paper has been prepared to commemorate the long and faithful services of one well known in this State, as a member of the Territorial Council, the Constitutional Convention, the State Senate, and serving on the Bench; and noteworthy for the interest he ever maintained in whatever pertained to the public weal, the progress of good morals, and the enlargement of the sphere of popular education.

Hon. Geo. Gale was a native of Burlington, Vermont, the youngest son of Peter and Hannah Tottingham Gale, and was born Nov. 30th, 1816. He had the advantages of a good common school education, and although not a graduate of any college, acquired an excellent knowledge of the higher branches of mathematics and the sciences.

In March, 1839, he commenced the study of the law, and the year following was appointed Postmaster at Waterbury Center, Vermont, and in 1841 was admitted to the bar.

He soon after removed to the then Territory of Wisconsin, and settled at Elkhorn, Walworth county, where he commenced the practice of his profession, still continuing his studies with great diligence.

Here his services were soon appreciated, by his election to various town offices; and at one time he was chairman of the Town Board, and also of the County Board of Supervisors.

In the fall of 1847, he was elected a member of the Convention to form a State Constitution, and served on the Judiciary Committee. The same fall he was also elected District Attorney of Walworth County, and, in the fall of 1849, a State Senator for two years. The first year in the Senate, he was chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, and the second year chairman of the Judiciary Committee.

On the 4th of July, 1851, he received from the Governor of the State, the appointment of Brigadier General in the militia. In the fall of that year, he removed to the Upper Mississippi, and settled at La Crosse; and was the same fall elected County Judge for the term of four years, for the counties of La Crosse and Chippewa, the latter having been attached to the former for judicial purposes. As the County Judge had common law as well as probate jurisdiction, the office was one of importance. He resigned this position January 1, 1854; and in April, 1856, was elected Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, composed of the counties of Buffalo, Clark, Jackson, Monroe, Trempealeau, La Crosse, Vernon, and Crawford, for the judicial term of six years, commencing January 1, 1857. The duties of this office he discharged with ability, and served the Constitutional term.

During Judge Gale's residence at La Crosse, he urged very strongly on the prominent citizens of that place, the importance of there establishing a college or an institution of learning of a higher order; but the country being new, the project did not find favor with the people, and nothing was done to carry out this worthy design. He shortly after determined to found a town and college on his own responsibility; and, in 1853, he purchased about two thousand acres of land, including the present location of Galesville, with the water power on Beaver Creek; and, in January, 1854, he procured from the State Legislature, the organization of the new county of Trempealeau, with the location of the county seat at Galesville, and at the same time obtained a charter for a University, to be located at that place.

The Board of Trustees was organized in 1855, and the edifice commenced in 1858.

In June, 1854, the village plot of Galesville was laid out, and subsequently mills were erected. The University building was carried through a monetary crisis, by his great energy and finan-

cial ability. After the graduation of the first class, in July, 1865, he resigned the Presidency of the Board of Trustees and of the Faculty, which offices he held for seven years.

Judge Gale received the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in 1857, from Vermont University; and, in 1863, the Institution which owed to him its existence, and to whom it was indebted for much of its success and prosperity, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The first newspaper issued in Walworth County, "The Western Star," was edited and published by him.

The "Wisconsin Form Book" was prepared and published by him in 1846, and subsequently revised and republished in 1848, '50 and '56. This work had a large circulation, and nearly six thousand copies were sold.

Greatly interested in the aboriginal history of the Northwestern States, and in the State Historical Society (of which he was an honorary member, and subsequently a Vice President,) he prepared an elaborate paper on the "History of the Chippewa Nation of Indians," which was read before the Society. In 1866 he published at Galesville, "A Genealogical History of the Gale Family in England and in the United States, with an account of the Tottingham Family of New England, and of the Bogardus, Waldron and Young Families of New York,"—a volume of 254 pp., a work requiring a large amount of patient and persevering investigation.

His last work, and to the preparation of which he devoted many years, was published in 1867, entitled "The Upper Mississippi; or, Historical Sketches of the Introduction of Civilization in the Northwest," a work covering the period from 1600 to 1866. It is a work of much research, and a valuable contribution to Western history.

Judge Gale's health partially failed him in the summer of 1862, and the three following winters he spent in the South and the East—most of the time in the service of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions. During February and March, 1863, he had charge of the United States Sanitary Commission Depot, on Morris Island, S. C., during the siege of Charleston.

In all the relations of life in which he was called to take a part, Judge Gale was always faithful, honest and persevering, with habits of industry and close application. Those who knew him best.

esteemed him the most. In all respects he was an estimable man, discharging every duty to the best of his ability. He retained his mental faculties to the last; his faith was strong, and his last days were full of peace.

He departed this life with all the consolations which the Christian religion affords to those whose lives conform to its teachings. He died at Galesville, Wis., April 18th, 1868, in the fifty-second year of his age.

*28—His.

Memoir of Hon. Henry S. Baird.

BY HON. E. H. ELLIS.

Henry S. Baird was born in Dublin, Ireland, on the sixteenth of May, in the year 1800. He was the youngest of the four children of very respectable parents, Henry and Ann Baird. Of these children, three were sons—Robert, Thomas and Henry S.; and one a daughter, Eliza.

The family removed to America in 1805, having been preceded by the father, Henry Baird, who came over in the same vessel with Thomas Addis Emmet and other Irish patriots, in 1802. Robert Baird was for many years a merchant residing in Zanesville, Ohio, where he died in 1833. Thomas Baird was an officer in the United States Army—was stationed at Mackinac in 1816 and 1817, and died at Pottsville, Pa., in 1842. The daughter married a Mr. McLean, of Wheeling, Virginia, where they resided until 1860, which was the year of her decease.

The parents lived for many years with their son, Henry S., at his residence in Green Bay, where they died, the father in 1847, the mother in 1852, at the advanced ages of eighty-three and eighty-four years.

Henry S. Baird was thus left the sole survivor of the family. He attained the age of seventy-four years and nine months, and died at his home in Green Bay on the thirtieth day of April, 1875. It is but just to his memory, and to the community in which he lived, and was so prominent a member, that some record of his life and character should be preserved.

Coming to America when Henry was about five years old, the family located in the State of Pennsylvania, and for the greater part of the time resided in Pittsburgh, where they remained until the close of the year 1814, when they removed to New Salem, Jef-

ferson county, Ohio. During a portion of the time of their residence in Pittsburgh, young Baird attended a common English school. His education, so far as schools were concerned, was completed in Pittsburgh, before he had attained his fifteenth year. He was never able to attend regularly any school after leaving that place; never went to college, nor did he study the languages, or even the higher branches of English education. He has often said how sensibly he felt these deficiencies in his career through life—even to his later years. But these disadvantages he overcame by means of his industry, perseverance and force of character.

At New Salem, his father and brother were engaged in manufacturing and in mercantile business. His brother also owned and cultivated a farm adjoining the village. Here he lived with his brother from 1814 to 1818, during which time he was employed in attending the store, and in performing various kinds of labor which were required about the business of both the store and the farm. He labored industriously, never shirking his task however hard he found it.

In 1818 he was relieved from these services, which he had performed for the previous four years. His father having an old friend in Pittsburgh, Mr. Douglass, who was a prominent lawyer in good practice, chose for his son the profession of law. He, however, did not wish to study law, and for two reasons—he thought his education was too imperfect to justify him in attempting it, and he was aware that it was not within the power of his parents to furnish him the means to improve or perfect his education. He preferred to obtain the knowledge of a good trade: but his father's wishes prevailed, and in June, 1818, he went to Pittsburgh, and there began "the study of the law."

Although the profession was not of his own choice, he applied himself diligently—endeavoring to overcome the feelings of dislike, which, late in life, he declared he had never entirely lost. He was without means, and pursued his studies under discouraging circumstances—continuing so to do, at Pittsburgh, until November, 1818, when Mr. Douglass was appointed Attorney-General of the State, and was obliged to remove to Harrisburg.

About this time, which was soon after the occurrence of a financial convulsion which proved disastrous to the business of the country, Mr. Baird recieved letters from home, inform-

ing him that his father and brother had decided to remove to some eligible location on Lake Erie, and requesting him to return and remain with the family until they could make a trip of exploration and return. He accordingly left Pittsburgh, and never returned to resume his studies there. He remained in Ohio until his father and brother returned, and informed him that they had selected Cleveland for their future residence; and that a young lawyer, recently from Vermont, had located there, and had consented to take him into his office if he desired it. To this Mr. Baird agreed, and determined to go to Cleveland in the ensuing spring. During the winter he was in the office of Hon. J. Halleck, in Steubenville, Ohio. In May 1819, he removed with the family to Cleveland. During the same year his father and brother suffered much from financial embarrassments, and being himself without means, the year 1820 brought upon him great despondency. The gentleman with whom he was studying, was just commencing practice and was poor. Mr. Baird had, however, the friendship of Hon. Reuben Wood, and Horace Perry, Esq., Clerk and Register of the County. In the fall of 1820, he obtained a place in Mr. Perry's office, agreeing with him to write six hours a day at ten dollars per month—which, though a small compensation, he gratefully accepted, because it enabled him to pursue his studies, which he could not otherwise have done.

He continued with Mr. Perry until the spring of 1822, giving the larger part of his salary to his father's family, and retaining barely enough for his own board and clothing. During this period, in addition to his six hours of writing, he read every morning and evening, and was occupied from twelve to fifteen hours daily. This confinement and mental labor soon told upon his health; and unfortunately he was attacked in the autumn of 1821, with fever and ague, which lasted nearly four months. In the spring of 1822, having been engaged for four years in his law studies, he determined to leave Cleveland, and to seek his fortune in some more promising place, and where there was less competition; for he was naturally diffident, and entertained no very sanguine hopes of success in his profession.

A friend of his, James S. Clarke, Esq., who had visited Mackinaw two summers, and was about to make a third trip, intending to remain there during the summer, advised him to go to the Island,

and to spend some time there, if for nothing more than to improve his health, and suggesting that he might find temporary employment there until he could do better, and select a permanent residence. Without hesitation, Mr. Baird determined to follow this advice—not, however, without the strenuous opposition of his parents and sister, who very naturally desired him to remain with them, and so, perhaps, were led to doubt the propriety of his decision.

At that time he had but fifteen or twenty dollars in money, a part of which was loaned him by his friend, Mr. Perry. The Captain of the vessel did not require him to pay the passage at the time; but he paid it the following summer. It was on the evening of the first of June, 1822, that Mr. Baird left Cleveland on the schooner "Minerva," under Captain Belden. He landed on the Island of Mackinaw on the morning of the fifth, having made the voyage in four days—an unusually quick trip for a sail vessel. With about fifteen dollars in his pocket, a few law books, and a rather scanty wardrobe, and without a friend or acquaintance on the Island, except Mr. Clarke and one or two others from Cleveland, Mr. Baird commenced the business of life.

Having letters and other testimonials from his Cleveland friends, he was soon introduced to some of the principal men then at Mackinaw, from whom he received kind attentions—one of whom he has often especially mentioned—Major William H. Puthoff, formerly of the army,—an open-hearted and hospitable Virginia gentleman, who advised him to remain, and to take a school for a few months, until he could establish himself in business. This, Mr. Baird consented to do, his new friend kindly interesting himself in procuring the use of the court room, and a sufficient number of pupils to open the school.

With his characteristic gratitude, Mr. Baird frequently alluded to this and many other kindnesses of his friend Major Puthoff, who proved steadfast to him, and was ever anxious to do him service until the Major's death, which occurred a short time before Mr. Baird left Mackinaw for Green Bay.

Within two or three months after his arrival at Mackinaw, Mr. Baird opened his school. His engagement was at first for only three months; but, being solicited to continue it, he renewed his engagement for six months, extending until April following.

While teaching, he continued to read law. At that time, the only courts established there were county courts of limited jurisdiction, and courts of justices of the peace.

In 1823, he was admitted to practice, and, by the end of his first year's residence in Mackinaw, he had a very fair business. In the spring of 1823, a new court was established by act of Congress, and Hon. James D. Doty was appointed Judge. The court had general, civil and criminal jurisdiction in the counties of Mackinaw, Brown and Crawford. This opened a larger field and a brighter prospect. In June of that year, Mr. Baird was admitted by Judge Doty to the bar of all the courts of the new jurisdiction, and he at once entered upon a successful practice—not immediately bringing him a large income, for the country was new, and clients, like himself, were possessed of but small means, and were starting out in the world. His business was sufficient, however, to supply his own needs, and something more. Those he left behind him in Cleveland were not forgotten nor neglected: they received from time to time a due share of his earnings for several years. But he never saw either of his parents, from the time he parted with them in 1822, until July, 1832, when they came to reside with him at Green Bay.

In the month of June, 1824, Mr. Baird visited Green Bay for a few days. He was favorably impressed with the place, and believed it would at some future period become an important point. There were no lawyers at Green Bay at that time. Several of the citizens expressed a wish that he should become a resident. Others, however, mostly traders and Frenchmen, had no desire to see courts or lawyers among them. Before leaving, Mr. Baird decided to make Green Bay his future residence, and made his arrangements accordingly.

At this period occurred one of the most important events of his life—his marriage. The engagement with Miss Elizabeth T. Fisher, then residing at Mackinaw, had been previously made; but with no view to its immediate consummation—for both were young, and without means. After deciding to leave Mackinaw, Mr. Baird preferred taking with him a help-mate and companion, and on his return proposed that the marriage should take place at once. After some objection on the part of her friends on account of her age, consent was given; and on the twelfth of August, 1824,

they were married. In September of that year, Mr. and Mrs. Baird came to Green Bay, where they ever after resided.

Being settled in the place thus chosen for their permanent home, Mr. and Mrs. Baird speedily gained a large circle of friends, and entered upon a happy and useful life. In common with the other early settlers, they encountered many hardships, and endured many privations. In due time, however, these difficulties were overcome, and gave place to a better and more prosperous condition of society—accelerated, in large measure, by their own efforts. Few, indeed, if any, of the first settlers here have taken a more active or useful part in all that was done or suffered for the good order and welfare of the community.

Their happy home and fireside were not for themselves alone. Their hospitable doors were open to all, and all were cordially welcomed there—and more particularly so on every New Year's day, when it was a spot where all old friendships were renewed and cemented; where enmities, if any existed, were done away; and where new hopes and resolutions were formed for the onward march of life. It was no place for mere form or ceremony, but for that mutual encouragement and good will among the members of the community for which they strove so earnestly and so constantly.

Mr. and Mrs. Baird have had four children—all daughters—one of whom died in infancy, another passed away in 1844, at the age of fifteen; the two surviving are Mrs. J. S. Baker, still residing at Green Bay, and Mrs. Dr. John Favill, who resides at Madison.

In his domestic relations, the character of Mr. Baird shone most brightly. No man was ever more affectionate and tender to his own; nor was ever attachment of wife, child or other relative, stronger than theirs for him. His paternal care extended to all who ever became members of his household; and others, very many others, know how as a father he encouraged and aided them by his kind words and helping hand.

A few words here touching Mr. Baird's character as a man of business. As already indicated from what has been said of his habits in early life, he was a man of great industry and perseverance—qualities without which no permanent success was ever achieved. From memoranda found among his papers, we learn that when he commenced the practice of his profession, he practi-

cally adopted the following rules : First, to devote all the time he could, when not occupied with business, in reading—not permitting a day to pass without learning something, or acquiring further knowledge in his profession: Second, whenever he had business to do, to attend to it at once—never putting off for to-morrow what could be done to-day, and always to attend to business before pleasure: Third, to be punctual in business correspondence, and in paying over collections; and to trust to another nothing which he could without inconvenience do himself: Fourth, so far as possible, to confine his expenses within his income, and to contract no debts which he could not pay, or see clearly the source from which they could be met in due time: Fifth, having anything to be done which at first appeared difficult or beyond his power to accomplish, to meet it boldly, and at once, with resolution to master it.

These rules he adhered to and carried out, and, as a necessary result, his efforts were crowned with success. As long as he continued the practice of his profession—which was about thirty-five years—he had the unlimited confidence of the people; for he was not only thoroughly honest and reliable, but his natural business capacity was excellent, and at the bar he was able as well as eloquent.

Having established a good reputation personally and professionally, Mr. Baird was often called into public service. Among the various positions he occupied, the following are remembered: He was in the service of the Government as a Quartermaster-General to the militia in the Black Hawk war. He was a member and President of the First Legislative Council of the Territory of Wisconsin, held at Belmont, Iowa county, in 1836. He was the first Attorney-General of the Territory, having been appointed by Governor Dodge. He was Secretary for Governor Dodge as Commissioner of the United States at the treaty with the Menomonee Indians at Cedar Rapids, in 1836—when the Menomonees ceded about four millions of acres of land to the General Government. For many years he was a Vice President of the State Historical Society, and a valuable contributor to its published Collections. At Green Bay, he was President of the village Board in 1853, and Mayor of the city in 1861 and 1862. In every public trust he was faithful, and rendered valuable service. During the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, he promptly assisted the Government with his

money and his individual exertions, and was always ardent and patriotic in his devotion to the Union.

In view of the facts thus imperfectly narrated, it may be truly said that Mr. Baird was not only "a self made man," but that he ranked with the best men of that class, and of the time in which he lived. He was not ambitious for distinction. For political or party strife, he had no taste or inclination; but was rather averse to it, and preferred the rewards of patient industry in business, and of duty well performed.

Always safe and prudent, whether in the business of others or in the management of his own affairs, Mr. Baird entered upon no dangerous ventures or wild speculations. He accumulated a fine property, and was thus enabled, before his departure, to provide suitably for the surviving members of his family.

Mr. Baird's career as a lawyer and as a citizen has been so ably and fully portrayed by the tributes which were presented before the Supreme Court of the State, on the occasion of his decease, that the writer desires to give portions of them a place in this memoir.

The Hon. Geo. B. Smith, of Madison, presented to the court the following preamble and resolutions, adopted by the bar of Brown county:

An All-wise Providence has removed from our midst our esteemed friend and brother, the Hon. Henry S. Baird, President and Pioneer member of this Bar, and one whose life has been prominently identified with the history of Wisconsin from its Territorial organization to this present time.

His able and faithful public services in all the important trusts to which he was called, the ability and integrity which he manifested throughout his professional career, and the uniform kindness and courtesy which characterized him in all the relations of life, endeared him to a large circle of friends, to the profession, and to the community, by all of whom he is justly held in grateful remembrance.

His many excellent traits of character presented through a long, useful and honorable life, rendered him one of the most distinguished and respected citizens of the State.

The members of this Bar, in common with the whole community, deeply deplore his loss, and join, with profound respect, regret and reverence, in paying their last tribute to his memory; therefore,

Resolved, That in the death of our brother, Hon. Henry S. Baird, the State has been deprived of one of its most useful and honored citizens, the profession of one of its oldest and most distinguished members, and society of one of its brightest ornaments.

Resolved, That as a testimonial of our high appreciation of his life and character, and of his many virtues as a lawyer, patriot, citizen and friend, these resolutions be presented to the county and circuit courts for Brown county, with the request that they be entered upon their records; also, that a copy be transmitted to the Hon. E. G. Ryan, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, with a request that the same be entered upon its records.

Resolved, That we tender to the friends and family of the deceased, our sincere condolence and sympathy in their great affliction, and that the chairman of this meeting transmit to the widow of the deceased a copy of these proceedings.

Resolved, That in memory of our deceased brother, we will attend his funeral as a body, and wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

Among other things so well stated by Gen. Smith in his address to the court, he said:

"Mr. Baird has been so long engaged in the practice of his profession in Wisconsin, and so intimately and actively connected with its history from its very commencement, that his life and

character as a lawyer and a citizen. have always been familiar, not only to the bar, but to the people of the State.

"About ten years ago, Mr. Baird retired from the practice of his profession, and from all participation in public affairs, full of years and full of honors; but up to that time, and for a period of now full fifty years, he was a resident of Green Bay, and was all the time prominently identified with our profession, as one of its most able, faithful, upright and successful lawyers. During most of that time, he was also foremost among the most able in forming and shaping the Government of our Territory and State. In fact, for a period of at least forty years he was so closely connected with public affairs that a full history of his life would be almost a complete history of Wisconsin.

"It would be improper, therefore, as well as impossible, for me to do more on this occasion than to present a very brief outline of the life, character and services of Mr. Baird.

"I find in the *Green Bay Advocate*, under date of May 6th, 1875, a brief sketch of his life, character and services, which is so admirable in all respects, and so exactly appropriate to this occasion, that I have thought best to incorporate it here.

"This, together with the resolutions heretofore spoken of as having been adopted by the Brown county bar, if they shall be placed upon the records of this Court, will remain forever as evidence of our affectionate esteem for this distinguished brother.

"Mr. Baird was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1800. At an early age he came to this country with his father, and for a time settled in Philadelphia. He afterward went to Pittsburgh, Pa., where he studied law, and at about the time he obtained his majority, went to Mackinaw and entered into practice—adding to his income, as many young lawyers still do, by teaching school. In July, 1824, when the Green Bay settlement was commencing, he came here on a tour of inspection and located here. He returned to Mackinaw, was married to the present Mrs. Baird, then a girl of scarcely fifteen, came back in September of that year, and located where the Green Bay settlement then existed, about two and a half miles south of here. A U. S. District Court, with Judge James D. Doty presiding, had been established here the previous year, with jurisdiction in the counties of Brown, Mackinaw and Crawford; and in a paper on early times in Wisconsin, by Hon. James H. Lockwood, we find this sentence: "I found no attorneys in Brown. There were several in Mackinaw—among them Henry S. Baird, then quite a young man, just commencing practice, and whom I considered the best lawyer among us." He was admitted to the bar here in that year, and at once entered upon a successful practice, which was actively continued until some ten years ago, when he withdrew from court work, only continuing to a limited extent the management of private affairs and estates. As a lawyer he was accurate and painstaking, throwing himself with all his force into every case he undertook, and giving his clients the utmost services in his power to render. He had the reputation, probably won through these qual-

ifications, of being one of the most successful lawyers in the State. The legal profession of those days, and for a long time afterwards involved long journeys by primitive modes of conveyance—to Mackinaw and Detroit by sail craft, to Prairie du Chien by bark canoes with Indian *voyageurs*, to Milwaukee on horseback, and so on. In 1835 he removed from up the river to what was then called Navarino, now the Third Ward of Green Bay, and in 1836 built the house where he has ever since resided.

“Within the space which we can devote to the subject, we can only give a glance at his public record. In his own home in Green Bay, he has several times been called upon to preside over its councils, having been President of the Village Board in 1853, and mayor of the city in 1861 and 1862. He was President of the first Legislative Council of the Territory of Wisconsin, which was held at Belmont, Iowa county, in 1836. Upon the organization of the Territorial government, he was appointed Attorney General by Governor Dodge. And he was a member of the first Convention to form a State Constitution, which met at Madison in 1846. As one of his local services here, also, he was one of the three commissioners—A. J. Irwin and Ebenezer Childs being the others—to open the road on the east side of Fox River from Green Bay to Kaukauna. He was Secretary for Gov. Dodge to the great treaty at Cedar Rapids in 1836, wherein the Menomonees ceded some 4,000,000 acres of this country to the Government. In our home matters, societies, lecture associations etc., his name has always been prominent; and, while in active life, no public event could scarcely transpire without his being more or less prominently connected with it.

“In the gratuitous services which followed upon the great fire which swept over this region in 1871, destroying so much life and property, Mr. Baird was among those prominently called upon to aid in alleviating the distress, and in distributing the vast amounts of relief sent forward from all parts of the country. That service perhaps exemplified some phases of his character better than any other. It involved dealing with a great amount of deception and rascality, as well with honest merit and actual destitution. Nothing could exceed his indignation, when he thought he had detected an attempt at swindling upon that charity; and when he came upon a really meritorious case, his broad sympathies outpoured to the very limit in their relief.

“In the early history of the State, Mr. Baird will always present a prominent point. He has been a Vice President of the State Historical Society, we think, since its organization; and his portrait hangs to-day among the others of public men on the walls of the Society's rooms.

“In politics, Mr. Baird was conservative, adhering to the Whig party so long as it existed, and then joining, though rather reluctantly, the Republican organization, which followed it. The erection of the Republican party in Wisconsin found the Whig party in full organization, with Mr. Baird as its candidate for Governor. The transfer carried enough strength to defeat him, and to elect his opponent instead; but he was the last to leave the Whig

ship, and the last to hail its vanishing flag as it sunk beneath the political sea.

"In Masonry, Mr. Baird was a distinguished member, having been Grand Master of the Grand Lodge in the State in 1857 and '58, and Grand High Priest of the Grand Chapter in 1855."

"Little more may be said, and we will only add another paragraph from the same paper, showing in what esteem Mr. Baird was held by his neighbors in his social relations with them: "We know of no one who will be missed more from our midst, and it will be long before our people shall be accustomed not to seeing his familiar form in our streets, receiving his pleasant greeting, and still more, meeting him as the genial and hospitable host in his always pleasant home. It was under that catholic roof, where were banished politics and all differences; and annually upon every New Year's day he made a re-union where all should partake of good cheer, without social, or party, or religious boundaries." Thus we see that our good brother was respected and beloved in every relation of life, professional, political and social—he was a good lawyer; a useful and distinguished citizen, and, above all, he was an honest man."

The remarks of Hon. B. J. Stevens, of Madison, are alike valuable as a testimonial of the life, character and services of Mr. Baird. He said:

"It was my fortune to have an acquaintance and friendship with the late Henry S. Baird. I knew him during many of the later years of his life. While it is probable that my tribute of respect will add little to his fame, I owe it to myself that the opportunity should not pass untaken, for expressing before the Supreme Court my appreciation of the great loss sustained in his death, and of the high ensample of his life.

"The chief facts in the history of the life of Mr. Baird, with an eloquent tribute of respect to his memory, have been given in the hearing of the court. They need not be repeated in detail.

"Born in Ireland, passing boyhood and youth in the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio, he came into what was then within the Territory of Michigan, and now the State of Wisconsin, in early manhood, at the age of twenty-four years. There he resided for more than half a century.

"To appreciate the man, it is necessary to consider, to some extent, the condition of the country and the character of the times in which he lived.

"To few has it been given to witness in the same length of time so great and so many material and social changes. When he came into what is now the State, he found at the mouth of the Fox River, a small settlement, consisting, all told, of about sixty rude dwellings, scattered along for five miles on both sides of the River, from its mouth to the falls at De Pere. To this size only, had grown a settlement which was established in the year 1745, nearly eighty years prior thereto. The settlers were largely of French origin, within only six or eight resident American families. The

farms occupied by this primitive people consisted of long strips of land, fronting on the River from two to seven rods in width, and extending back from one to three miles. The location of the dwellings upon the water's edge, enabled the occupants to combine against Indian attack, and in time of peace, to engage, upon nearly equal terms, in the business of fur trading, which was almost their only occupation. There were then no other white people within the limits of what is now the State of Wisconsin, excepting a like settlement of nearly equal size at Prairie du Chien, and excepting one or two families on the Fox River at Grand Kaukauna. With these exceptions, the entire territory was an unbroken wilderness. To no part of it had the Indian title been extinguished. The country was under military rule. The mail was carried in the winter by soldiers from Green Bay to Detroit; two mails in six months. In the preceding year, the year 1823, the North-western Judicial District of Michigan Territory was formed, comprising the counties of Mackinaw, Brown and Crawford, which counties embraced a large part of the present State of Michigan, the whole of the States of Wisconsin and Iowa, and a part of the State of Minnesota. Over this district, James Duane Doty was appointed Judge; and in October, 1824, he opened at Green Bay, the first term of court ever held within the present limits of the State of Wisconsin. At this term of court, Henry S. Baird was admitted to the bar, and was appointed the Prosecuting Attorney, *pro tem.*, and as such, served during the term, in the trial of more than forty cases, such as they were.

"On the 23d day of the preceding August, and out of term, J. H. Lockwood had been admitted to the bar by Judge Doty. He had received from the Government a commission as Prosecuting Attorney, for the counties of Brown and Crawford. Although Mr. Lockwood was the first to be admitted, Mr. Baird was the first to practice as an attorney within the present limits of the State. In the year 1825, on the business of his profession, and in company with Judge Doty, Mr. Baird traveled in a bark canoe from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, a distance of more than two hundred and fifty miles through an unbroken wilderness. On like business, in the year 1829, in company with Morgan L. Martin, he made the same journey on horseback, it being the first party of white men who, by that mode of travel, had accomplished the journey. And again, on like business a year later, in 1830, accompanied by his wife and their two infant children, he made the journey in a bark canoe, occupying eight or nine days in going, and about the same length of time in returning.

"From the time of Mr. Baird's coming into the country and until 1836, twelve years thereafter, the development of the resources of the country was comparatively slow. The first frame house in Wisconsin was built in 1825. In 1827, the first printing was done, and the first steamboat appeared on Lake Michigan. In 1831, the first cession of lands to the United States was made by the Indians. In 1833, the first newspaper appeared. In 1834, the first mail was carried to Chicago, and the first survey of public lands

near Green Bay took place; while, in 1836, the remaining lands of the State were ceded by the Indians. From this time, the year 1836, on the development of the resources of the country became so rapid that it was difficult to keep pace with and note the changes. Up to the time of his death, Mr. Baird had seen the population of Wisconsin, increase from a few hundreds in 1824, to over three thousand in 1830, when the first census was taken, and to a million and a quarter in the year 1875; a change in the number of newspapers, from one in 1833, to two hundred in 1875; in the number of schools, from one or two, up to five thousand, with pupils numbering nearly 350,000; in churches, from one or two, to nearly fifteen hundred; in railroads, from not a mile to nearly twenty-five hundred miles; in the yearly value of manufactures, from little or nothing in 1824, to more than seventy-seven millions of dollars in 1870, and in the acreage and value of its farms, from a few acres valued at a few dollars in 1824, to nearly twelve millions of acres, valued at over three hundred millions of dollars in 1870, and having an annual yield, in the item of wheat alone, exceeding twenty-four millions of bushels.

"It was in the midst of changes of such extraordinary character that Mr. Baird performed the labor of his life. He performed it well. He had much to do in moulding the institutions of Wisconsin. He was a member of the Territorial Council and of the first Constitutional Convention. He was called upon to assist at the making of treaties with the Indians (by whom he was regarded as a steadfast friend,) and to perform many and varied public services. In all the enterprises which tended to develop the resources and promote the prosperity of the State, he was an active and zealous participant.

"As a lawyer, the first to practice in the Territory, he had to do with the settlement of the forms of practice, and by his conduct gave character to the profession. He continued in active practice from the time of his admission to the Bar until his retirement, about the year 1865; and at the time of his death was President of the Bar Association of the county of Brown—that county out of which had been carved nearly thirty counties of size equal with it then, and leaving still a population thirty times as great as its population before the county was shorn of its area. His position at the Bar was conspicuous throughout. He was remarkably accurate, pains-taking and attentive to detail. He was chosen to fill places of trust and confidence, was the administrator of estates and the agent of the Astors (than whom in the selection of those who should serve them, there were none who were more discriminating as to integrity, or more exacting as to the performance of duty.) And from the performance of the delicate and exact duties, growing out of such trusts, extending over half a century, he comes without stain upon him. There is not a whisper of abuse of trust, or any neglect of duty, great or small.

"As a member of society he was respected and loved by all. He was singularly fortunate in his domestic relations. At Mackinaw, just before coming into the country, he married a young girl, of the age at which, ordinarily, girls are in the midst of their

studies at school, who (in his companionship) developed into a woman of ripe culture, and the highest accomplishment. Although the home of Mr. and Mrs. Baird was in the midst of a community living in rude dwellings, who encountered and overcame the hardships incident to life in a wilderness, and who apparently possessed a few of the elements which constituted refined society, yet, throughout the many changes that followed, it was the centre of a domestic and social circle in which was wanting nothing of the refinement and graces incident to the highest civilized life. After years of married life had passed away, and their friends and neighbors were gathered together to celebrate the golden or fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, it fell to the lot of a distinguished Senator of the United States, who himself for thirty years had been their neighbor and friend, to give expression to the sentiments of those before whom Mr. and Mrs. Baird had passed their lives. With not less of truth than beauty, he said:

I call upon these your neighbors to bear witness that we stand in the presence of a couple who came here into a remote wilderness fifty years ago; who brought the best style of Christian civilization with them; who have cherished it ever since, until now, when the tide of metropolitan waves and metropolitan culture breaks at their feet; they bring no sentiment of kindness, no rule of courtesy, no flower of good breeding which is not domestic here in this household.

"In the *Weekly Globe*, a news sheet published by the youth at Green Bay, in an issue which appeared soon after the death of Mr. Baird, I also find words expressive of the love and respect in which he was held by those who knew him best. They are attributed to one who was born and grew to manhood in the shadow of Mr. Baird. The keen discernment of youth gives them value. Says the writer:

Henry S. Baird is dead, the true old gentleman, the just and upright man, the good and wise counselor, the ceaseless and untiring benefactor, the hospitable and beloved neighbor, the old and honored citizen, the generous and faithful friend.

We have lost our principal citizen. He had not lived as many years as some; he had not attained as high offices as some; he had not accumulated as much wealth as some; but the distinction of being our first citizen was tacitly conceded to him by all."

"Mr. Baird adapted himself to the times in which he lived. He did that which was next to his hand, changing the direction of his effort with the varying demand which the rapidly shifting times presented. It followed that his attainments were varied and his discipline many-sided. A concentration of effort in one direction might have given to him greater superiority, but also in a vastly greater degree it would have lessened the measure of his usefulness. A more critical legislator would have had less influence with the men who moulded the institutions of the State, A more nearly accurate lawyer would not have attained equal success in practical affairs. Had he been less demonstrative in his kindness, he would have been less potent for good in the establishment of society.

"Henry S. Baird had passed from among us; but the high ensample of his life, in its relations to the state, the legal profession and society, still remains. May we not hope, that an honest, faithful, capable life, considered even in its temporal relations, is not lived in vain; that its influence is not as transient and evanescent as mere physical vitality, but that the progress of mankind, in all that

is virtuous, and ennobling is accelerated by it; that although the life of one man may be a small factor in the aggregate lives of the race, yet if well spent, its after influence is perceptible, and continues to endure for good, and may we not truthfully say, the world is better that such a man has lived."

In the address of his own townsman, Senator T. R. Hudd, of Green Bay, we find the following additional testimony:

"As a citizen of Wisconsin, Henry S. Baird's best monument will ever be the advance and progress of his adopted State. He came in the van of the pioneers, while Wisconsin was a part of the undeveloped wilds of the great North-west Territory. He was called up, in years, but was richer still in the respect and love of all classes. He has now entered into the rest his labors and years had prepared his friends to expect—our loss, indeed—his absent form, his kind familiar face, gone; but his spirit, the indomitable will that helped to carve an empire from the wilderness, still lives, and the shape, frame, progress, and manifest destiny of Wisconsin and the West, in some part the resulting labor of his hands and brain. Wisconsin's pioneer lawyer shall not want a monument—the marble of the church-yard is cold indeed and soulless; but a grateful people's memory of the noble, good, and true men who were the fathers of the State, shall make the record as lasting as the State itself, 'for their works do follow them.'"

Chief Justice Ryan, on behalf of the Court, responded to the foregoing remarks as follows:

"At the time of his death, Mr. Baird was truly the father of the Wisconsin Bar, and worthy to be so. And it is only decent that we should pause a little in the business of life to notice a death which leaves so large a vacancy, personal and professional.

"So much has been said, and well said, at the Bar, of the remarkable career of Mr. Baird, that there is nothing left for us to add to it; little left for us to say, beyond our cordial assent to the witness of praise borne here to-day to his memory. We all knew him well. And we all attest, highly as his life and character have been lauded at the bar, all that has been said of him is quite within the truth.

"I first met Mr. Baird in 1842, in Racine, where he and I were engaged together in defense of an officer of the army tried by court martial. Thenceforth we met often, sitting together for over two months in the first Constitutional Convention, of which he was a conspicuous member, distinguished by the fairness of his views and the soundness of his judgment. And I think I may say that I knew him well.

"In a long career, I certainly have met men of greater apparent ability than Mr. Baird; but I doubt if I ever met one of keener perception of truth and greater fairness of judgment. These made him what he was, a singularly safe adviser, trusty agent, capable man of business, and an invaluable friend. These are qualities importing intellect of no low order, but they were more owing in him to the sound and kindly integrity of his heart. For as far as human frailty will admit, Mr. Baird was essentially a good man.

"I recall, as I write, but two men whom it has been my fate to know well, in whom goodness, of itself, seemed to me to be power. One of these was a person whom I never recall without emotion, the saintly Bishop Kemper; the other was Mr. Baird. Both had intellect for all their duties in life; but their power over men rested in the goodness of their nature, far more than in their force of character. Both proved what men rarely, women more frequently, prove, that goodness may be a positive power in life. Mr. Baird's profession, and his ability in it, tended to make this the more marked in him. He was an intelligent and able lawyer, and would have ranked so at any bar, at any time. And he was a zealous and eager, as becomes a good lawyer. But the simple sincerity and benignity of his character were never warped by selfish instincts or obscured by professional ardor. Truth spoke always from his open, manly, beaming face. The guileless innocence of childhood was singularly combined in him with shrewd knowledge of the world; as it is written, in malice a child, in understanding a man. It hardly seems exaggeration to say of him that he was wise as serpents, harmless as doves.

"This childlike simplicity and innocence of nature, this benignity of manhood, were, I think, the master-key to Mr. Baird's whole life, public and private. As a politician, and he was an influential one, they made him moderate and true to his principles through all the change, excesses and exactions of party. As a lawyer, they made his retainers always subordinate to his sense of justice, and kept him free from entanglement in monopolies and schemes of public oppression or imposition. As a citizen, they made him what all who surrounded him in life gladly knew him to be, a genial and high-toned gentleman; a generous, guileless man, free from all circuitry and deceit; gentle-hearted and large minded, sagacious, moderate, judicious, faithful, true and just; whose charity never wearied and never slept; who held his own and his friend's honor above all the blandishments of passion, and all the temptations of ambition and wealth; and who came as near as our nature can come, loving his neighbor as himself. What they made him in the sacred privacy of his refined family and home, who may venture to tell? We dare only say that they made his pleasant house a central example of the cordial hospitality which has always distinguished the quaint old borough in which he passed his mature life.

"The death of such a man, at any age, brings true and lasting sorrow. But this is sorrow rather for those who stay behind than for him who has gone on before. What sting has death for such a man as Mr. Baird, in the fullness of years and of honor, ripe for better life? As has been said, he saw Wisconsin grow from a wilderness to the State it is. But Wisconsin too saw him grow from the sapling to the tree; saw him accomplish great good, public and private, in his day; saw him with affectionate reverence, linger a little after the active labor of his life was done; saw him ripen in all excellence for the change which, to such as he, is not so much the grave of this world as the womb of the world to come; saw him laid, a Christian gentleman without spot or blemish, in the earth

which will surely give up its dead; and honors him in death as it did in life. Such death following such life is repose too holy for sorrow.

"It would have been a sad solecism to pass Mr. Baird's death in silence here. We thank the gentlemen of the Bar who have so happily brought the matter before the court. And the feeling with which we order these proceedings to be entered of record is no ordinary tribute to departed professional worth."

I cannot close this sketch without adding a few words to what has been so well and truthfully said of our lamented friend.

Having resided with Mr. Baird for nearly five years, in which he was perhaps in the height of his usefulness, I became intimately acquainted with the man, and had opportunities to observe some of the more excellent traits of his character, which although embraced in the preceding testimonials, it may not be improper here more particularly to mention. The kindness of his disposition, of which so much has been said, was generous, true and free from all ostentation—it proceeded, as I believe, from a pure love of doing good to his fellow creatures. Keenly appreciative of favors received while he struggled with adversity, he delighted in acts of benevolence—not willing to receive or to expect anything in return, but always preferring that the recipients of his own favors should, in their turn, do what they could for the good of others. This was the only return he sought for.

Indeed his favors were for the most part bestowed upon those from whom no returns could be expected. The numbers of the poor, young and old, who were seen assembled to look for the last time upon the face of their benefactor, afforded a touching proof of the genuine goodness of his heart and life. Nor was it confined to deeds like these. His charity was broad, deep, and ever abounding. He knew the frailties of our human nature, and was not unmindful of his own. His experience in the various duties and relations of life, had, doubtless, at times brought him into differences with his fellow men—not unlikely to occur in the life of a man so actively engaged. Being strictly conscientious, he adhered firmly to what he believed to be right, and as firmly opposed whatever he considered wrong, whether others approved or not. But whatever differences he encountered, even though they may have tended to create unfriendliness, he was always disposed to forgive any injury or injustice done him, and to bury in oblivion whatever might in

any degree, interrupt the harmony and good will which ought to exist between man and man. Ill-will never found a harbor in his breast.

Thus have we seen, that Mr. Baird, in his many excellences, has left us an example worthy of imitation, and a good name and memory which deserve to be cherished while life remains. If he had faults—and who of us has not?—we will cover them with that charity which “hopeth all things,” and “never faileth”—remembering that while, like ourselves, he was imperfect—far less so than many of us—he was yet one of the noblest works of God—*an honest man.*

Memoir of Hon. John Catlin.

BY HON. A. B. BRALEY.

Hon. John Catlin, the subject of this paper, was born on the thirteenth of October, 1803, at Orwell, Vermont. His genealogy has been successfully traced back through six generations, to Thomas Catlin, who resided at Hartford, Connecticut, more than two and a quarter centuries ago. His father was John B. Catlin, and his mother's maiden name Rosa Ormsbee, daughter of John Ormsbee, of Shoreham, Vermont. John Catlin came of excellent American stock, as both his paternal and maternal grandfathers were Revolutionary soldiers, and conspicuous for their patriotic zeal in the war which resulted in the consummation of American independence.

In his paternal grandfather's family there were seven brothers, all of whom shouldered the Revolutionary musket, and joined the ranks of the patriot army. They were all of them fine specimens of stalwart manhood, standing full six feet high, heavy, muscular, and well proportioned. His mother's father held a Lieutenant's commission in the Continental army, and continued in the service until the close of the war, when he received an honorable discharge, together with the sum of \$1,400, the amount of his pay. The currency of the country was somewhat inflated at that time, as on his return to his home in Massachusetts, Lieutenant Ormsbee paid sixty dollars of his money for a single bushel of corn.

John Catlin's father was engaged in the mercantile business until 1812. At the beginning of the war which broke out that year, he abandoned his mercantile vocation and took up his residence in the town of Bridport, Addison county, Vermont. Having purchased a farm bordering upon Lake Champlain, he became

a tiller of the soil. The subject of our sketch was then about nine years of age; and, in this place and vicinity he began and ended the scholastic training which was to prepare him for the business of life. His educational advantages were quite limited, being only such as the common district school afforded, with the exception of one year which he spent in Newton Academy, located at Shoreham. At the age of eighteen he quit school and resorted to the vocation of teaching as a means of temporary livelihood. He followed this occupation for nine successive winters, devoting his summers to self culture and to the study of law in the office of Augustus C. Hand, of Elizabethtown, New York. In 1833 he was admitted to the Bar, at the age of thirty.

In 1836 he joined the comparatively small band of early pioneers who were following the course of empire westward. That was forty years ago, and emigrating as far west as Wisconsin was no holiday excursion as now. The pioneer of 1836 had no palace car, furnished with luxurious accommodations, in which he could repose at his ease, reading the latest paper or magazine, or sleep away the swift hours, rolling him over the iron track at the rate of four hundred miles a day. The emigrant of forty years ago was compelled to travel by the slow stage coach, dragging its weary way over muddy roads, at the rate of thirty to fifty miles a day; or by the tedious canal boat, with its scanty accommodations, or the ill-provided Lake steamer, laboring against opposing waves to make six miles an hour, and even when the wished-for destination was reached, the traveler found himself encompassed with difficulties, dangers and privations.

Forty years ago our own Wisconsin was but a pathless forest, or a waste of uninhabited prairie; and the territory which now holds within its limits a million and a quarter of people, contained but a few struggling settlements, with an aggregate population of eleven thousand six hundred and eighty-three. To forsake the comforts and associations of an eastern home, and "go west," forty-three years ago, required no little courage and enterprise. We cannot give too much credit to the bold, hardy, energetic men who blazed the first pathway through the wilderness, and laid the foundation of an empire in the Northwest. That they expected to live long enough to witness the wonderful results that have followed close upon their footsteps, is scarcely probable; for, forty years ago, the

mighty impulse of the steam power, which has since caused the world to move onward on the track of progress, centuries at a single bound, was but in the dawn of early infancy, and hardly conscious of its dormant energies.

Mr. Catlin first settled at Mineral Point, where he formed a co-partnership with Hon. Moses M. Strong, in the business of his chosen profession. He, however, remained here but two years, for the capital having been located at Madison, and having received the appointment of Postmaster at this place, in the Spring of 1838 he removed here, with a view of making it his permanent residence. He held the position of Postmaster until the election of Gen. Harrison as President, when he was removed to make way for a political antagonist; but on the death of Gen. Harrison, and the accession of John Tyler to the Presidency, he was reinstated in his old place as Postmaster, and continued to hold it until 1844, when he was elected a member of the Territorial Council, and the two offices being incompatible under the law, he resigned his Post-office appointment.

In the fall of 1836, Mr. Catlin was appointed Clerk of the Supreme Court. He was also chosen Clerk of the Territorial House of Representatives in 1838; and was re-elected to that position for eight successive years. Mr. Catlin was the first District Attorney of Dane county, and, on the removal of George C. Floyd from the office of Secretary of the Territory in 1846, he was chosen as his successor, and continued to hold that position until Wisconsin was admitted into the Union in 1848. Mr. Catlin was afterwards elected County Judge of Dane county, an office which he resigned in order to accept the position of President of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad Company. His appointment to this position necessitated his removal to Milwaukee.

In the discharge of the duties of the important position of President of the primitive railroad of Wisconsin, Mr. Catlin displayed great energy and skill. He procured the passage of a law which made the first mortgage bonds of this railroad, to the amount of fifty per cent., a foundation for banking. This feature appreciated the obligations of the Company to such an extent that he was enabled to effect a loan of \$600,000, which gave to the road the first great impulse, and the work of construction was vigorously begun, and as vigorously prosecuted. He was President of this road for

five years, or until 1856, when he declined a re-election. His retirement was made the occasion of a highly complimentary resolution adopted by the Board of Directors, thanking him for his eminent services in behalf of the road.

In 1857 the Company failed, and Mr. Catlin was once more induced to accept the position of President, and he proceeded to re-organize the association. He continued his official connection with that corporation until it was subsequently consolidated with the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad Company.

Mr. Catlin was married on the nineteenth day of September, 1843, at Rochester, N. Y., to Miss Clarissa Bristol, daughter of Mr. Charles Bristol, once a prominent wholesale merchant of New York City. The fruit of this marriage was one child, a daughter, who is still living, and resides with her mother in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

I have thus barely traced the outlines of Mr. Catlin's life. That is all that could reasonably be expected on an occasion like the present; for his biography complete would involve a considerable portion of Wisconsin's history, and far transcend the limits to which I am necessarily confined.

When Mr. Catlin first landed in Wisconsin, the whole broad territory contained a population scarcely greater than now finds a home within the borders of our own fair city of Madison. The subsequent rapid growth of the State, its amazing increase in population and wealth, we might claim to be without precedent in the astonishing annals of American progress. Since then, States farther west have sprung up with almost magical rapidity; but these owed their swift growth to the giant impulses of steam power. Wisconsin has been the highway over which has swept the tide of emigration, in search of homes beyond her western borders.

Our own rapid growth, from a feeble Territory into a great populous and wealthy State, is the result, in a large degree at least, of the enlightened efforts of the "first settlers." The pioneers of a new country exert a powerful influence upon the character of the future State. They in fact fix its destiny for good or evil. They are the architects of the government edifice. They mark out the plan, lay the foundation walls, and give shape, form, and direction to its laws and its institutions. They either promote or hinder the march of improvement, hasten or delay the advancement of pro-

gress. They form the character of the infant State, and give bent to its genius. If they are men of enlarged views, of liberal minds, they impress their own characteristics upon the institutions and the laws they frame. If they are able and intelligent, the new State will quickly feel the impulse of progress, and move "Forward" upon its destined way to prosperity, wealth and power.

Wisconsin was peculiarly fortunate in this respect. Among her early pioneers there were to be found an unusual number of able and accomplished men. Indeed we might challenge comparison with any or with all of her sister States of the great Northwest, without fear of the result. It is with feelings of honest State pride that we glance back at our first Legislative assemblies and our Constitutional conventions. It would be difficult to find in any State, old or new, a larger array of first-class talent than these bodies presented. Among these men of ability and of enterprise, John Catlin, the subject of our sketch, held a conspicuous place. The various important official positions which he was called upon to fill, furnish sufficient proof in confirmation of this statement. He was chosen Secretary of the Territory, was the first Post-master of Madison, first Clerk of the Supreme Court and of the Territorial House of Representatives, first District Attorney of Dane county, its first County Judge, was President of the first Rail Road Company, and a member of the Territorial Legislature.

His energetic character and practical ability peculiarly fitted him for the work of building up the fabric of a new State. All enterprises that promised to promote the growth and prosperity of his adopted State, found in him a zealous supporter and a determined advocate. In its infancy, he became a life member of the Historical Society, and has ever since, up to the time of his death, been one of its most active and inflexible friends. His efforts and influence contributed in no very slight degree toward the splendid collection of literary treasures which now fill one wing of the Capitol from floor to roof, and forming a library of which the State may well be proud. Mr. Catlin's friendship for our Historical Society was not impulsive or spasmodic, but a continuing regard which lasted throughout his active life. It is perhaps but just in this connection to allude to the liberal tender which he made, not long previous to his death, of a section of land in the State of Texas, for the benefit of the Society—a bequest which his generous widow has expressed her intention to execute.

But little more than half the years that make up man's allotted span of life have passed away since John Catlin made his first toilsome march through the drifted snow to the beautiful eminence which is now crowned by the city of Madison. The entire white population of Dane county then consisted of but three persons. He lived to witness many of the astonishing changes which the busy hand of time has wrought, not only here, but all over the broad State. He lived to see the population of Wisconsin increased from less than twelve thousand to over a million. A few contrasts will perhaps best illustrate the progress we have made. Contrast the log hut in which the first post-office was held, to the massive edifice which is now used for that purpose. The strip of land which separates our two beautiful Lakes, where now more than ten thousand people perform their daily avocations, then contained a single family. At that time not a foot of railroad was built or projected in Wisconsin, and now we have two thousand five hundred and thirty-one miles in operating order, costing more than one hundred and forty-seven millions of dollars. But it is hardly necessary to pursue these contrasts, for they will suggest themselves to all reflecting minds. And all these changes have been wrought while the infant has been growing to manhood.

John Catlin is entitled to a liberal share in the enterprise which has promoted all this progress. He was an active co-worker with those whose united labors have brought forth the fruit. He was pre-eminently a self made man. He owed but little of the success which he achieved to the gifts of fortune, or to extraordinary natural endowments. His example is valuable to the world because it furnishes a splendid illustration of what a strong determination, coupled with habits of industry, will accomplish. He says himself, in a letter to a friend, written but a short time before his death, that Judge Hand, his *preceptor legis*, used to call him "a matter-of-fact man devoid of imagination or talent for ridicule—the great weapon of the successful advocate." But in the same connection he relates a circumstance showing that generous Nature, or perhaps his own habits of thought, had more than supplied the deficiency by conferring a gift of greater value in the practical transactions of life. While he was President of the railroad company, he was called upon to draft a very important legal document which was wanted for immediate use. The Board of Di-

rectors was then in session, and, in the midst of the greatest confusion, while there was talking, laughing, joking and discussion going on around him, Mr. Catlin wrote out the legal document without making a single mistake. "I would give five hundred dollars," said a member of the Board to him after the contract had been adopted, "for the power of concentration which you have just displayed." "Men," replied Mr. Catlin, "are generally what they make themselves, for," he continued, "the power of concentration which you say I have exhibited, is the result of practice and experience. I was chief clerk of the House of Representatives for eight years, and during that time I acquired the faculty of which you speak; for it was my custom to write out the proceedings while the House was in session, and usually by the time the adjournment took place, my journal was ready for the printer."

My opportunities for judging the character of Mr. Catlin were not of the best description. I never enjoyed his intimate personal acquaintance. I saw him, it is true, quite frequently; but have no recollection of having ever exchanged a dozen words with him, or of passing ten minutes in his company, and yet I remember him very well. I remember the spare, slightly stooping form, the bent but still well poised head, the dark, calm, melancholy eye, indicative of much thought and mental power; and the impression left upon my mind was, that I was looking upon a man of marked individualities, and yet there was nothing odd, eccentric or erratic about him. Indeed, he seemed to attract attention more from his modest and unassuming manners than from any forward, pretentious bearing.

His intellectual parts were more solid than showy, more useful than ornamental. His aim was success, and he sought it in the slow, but sure and solid path-ways of industry and perseverance.

He knew the race was not always to be swift, nor the battle to the strong. He saw the prize of victory in the far distance, waiting for all who would labor to achieve it; and he entered upon the pursuit, not with the impulsive flights of genius, but the steady gait of practical common sense.

It may be said that Mr. Catlin's intellectual character was neither illustrated nor marred by any of the faculties or of the faults of genius. We have seen that he himself laid no claim to the natural gifts which are essential attributes in the character of the successful advocate; and yet, had he devoted his life exclusively to the

duties of his chosen profession, I have no doubt that he would have gained distinction at the bar; but he would have won it by severe, persevering, mental labor. There is one lesson which every man must learn well before he can hope for real success in life, and that is the lesson of self-knowledge. This lesson Mr. Catlin seems to have studied early, and studied it well. He knew himself, and that knowledge taught him to put a just estimate upon his own abilities. When told that he was a "matter of fact man, without imagination," he did not pine over his lack of natural talent, but accepted the information cheerfully, and went forward upon his pathway to grapple with the stern logic of facts. He was no way discouraged because he could not hope to mount the summit upon the eagle wings of genius; but prepared himself to climb the rugged steep over the sure pathway of patient toil.

Morally speaking, Mr. Catlin's life might be said to be more than ordinarily irreproachable. Habits of intemperance or licentiousness have left no stain upon his character or memory, for I never heard that he was charged with either. During his long and active life, he doubtless had to encounter his share of cotemporary censure, for "back-wounding calumny the whitest virtue strikes;" but if detraction or libel ever soiled his good name and reputation, or obscured his honest fame, the steady sunlight of time, breaking through the envious clouds, have chased the shadows away, and left his memory clear, and without a moral blemish. In short, I think it may be truthfully said, that John Catlin was a kind and faithful husband, an indulgent parent, and a most exemplary citizen. As this single encomium embraces most of the moral and social virtues, it is hardly necessary that I should elaborate upon this branch of my subject.

In concluding this imperfect sketch, I have but little more to add. Although John Catlin is dead, the example which his sturdy and unostentatious life presents, still shines along the pathway of the living. His death made vacant one more conspicuous place in the rapidly thinning ranks of Wisconsin's early pioneers. They are fast disappearing from the scenes of their mortal labors; one by one they are dropping away. When a few more rolling years shall have swept over our heads, the pen of the future biographer will be employed in the mournful task of writing the life of the "last of the pioneers." We owe much to the enterprising men who blazed a trail through the wilderness, who led the van in the march of progress, and laid the foundation of a mighty empire in the wilderness of the North-West. It is eminently just and proper that we should carefully preserve the record of their useful lives.

A Sketch of the Life and Services of John Y. Smith.

BY D. S. DURRIE.

To keep in honorable remembrance the names and services of the pioneers and prominent citizens of our State who have passed away, is one of the duties devolving on the Historical Society of Wisconsin; and doubly so in this instance, since Hon. John Y. Smith, the subject of this sketch, was not only a pioneer and distinguished citizen of Wisconsin, but closely identified with this Society from its organization, ever manifesting the deepest interest in whatever pertained to its success and usefulness.

Mr. Smith was born near Evans' Mills, a small village in the town of Le Ray, Jefferson county, New York, February tenth, 1807. His father was Peter Smith, an Irishman by birth, who came to this country as a soldier in the army of General Burgoyne, and after his captivity, determined to remain and become a resident of the country. He was married twice, his second wife being a niece of General Ethan Allen. She died when her son, the subject of this sketch, was about six years of age. A year afterward, his father removed to New Hartford, Oneida county, New York. His circumstances were such, that he decided to find places for his children, and break up house-keeping. He himself went to live with his oldest son, Edward, then about twenty-four years of age. His son, John Y., was sent to work in the cotton factory established at that place. He soon after went to live with a farmer, with whom he remained four years, and while with him and about eight years of age, he was kicked by a horse, which fractured his skull and displaced one eye. This injury nearly cost him his life. His employer was a tyrant, and the lad while with him, was the victim of

much ill usage. After this he learned the carpenter's trade, reaching his majority and completing his apprenticeship about the same time. From these circumstances it will be apparent, that his advantages for education were very limited. His literary training was not received at the schools to any considerable extent, but chiefly in a struggle for life, and under the influence of comparatively few books that he read; but the training was none the less real, as he made it a practice to study and patiently digest what engaged his attention, eschewing all light and frivolous publications. The writings of Milton, Young, Thomson and Wordsworth in poetry, Edwards and Butler in theology, Isaac Taylor in the field of speculative thought, and Say, Mill, and De Quincy in political economy, were his favorite authors. Grammar he never studied, and he used to say that the only rule of it he knew was the one laid down in the book of Job, chapter 34, verse 3, "For the ear trieth words as the mouth tasteth meat." Soon after finishing his apprenticeship he made preparations to move to the West. He engaged himself to go with a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, near Green Bay, to erect or work upon the mission buildings. His employer paid his passage, and advanced him twenty dollars to purchase a set of bench tools. He left Utica, New York, on a line boat on the Erie Canal, with one dollar and a quarter in his pocket. In about eight days he arrived at Buffalo, then a village of limited pretensions, and took passage on a small schooner, the "Lady of the Lake," of seventy tons burthen, and in about four weeks landed safely at Green Bay, on the eighteenth of May, 1828. His first employment was on the mission house near that place, and afterwards at Kaukana, among the Stockbridges. He built the second framed house, and the first flouring mill, in Wisconsin. After passing a year at Green Bay, he determined to return homeward. He was as far as Mackinaw, but after staying there three months, decided to return to Wisconsin—or Michigan Territory as it was then called—intending to make Green Bay his permanent home. On the twenty-seventh of September, 1832, while residing at the Bay, he married Anna Weed Kellogg, daughter of James and Martha C. Kellogg, of Northfield, Connecticut, who was at that time a missionary teacher to the Stockbridges. This lady died March 3, 1847, leaving one son, Hayden K. Smith, now an associate editor of the *Chicago Times*.

In the year 1833, and the year following, in company with Asa Sherman, he erected a mill on the public lands, near the present city of Green Bay, and a dwelling house, occupied by them until the Government sale of 1835. Under the pre-emption law of 1834, they selected the quarter section thus occupied, and each party was allowed a "float" as it was called—the right to enter at Government price, eighty acres anywhere in the land district. Mr. Sherman's "float" was purchased by Morgan L. Martin, and located in what now is the centre of the city of Milwaukee. The court house stands upon its site. Mr. Smith located his "float" in Milwaukee, west of the River and north of Spring street, and embraced parts of what are now the Second and Fourth wards. He retained for a long time an undivided half interest, having disposed of the remainder. The rise of property soon after, greatly improved his pecuniary circumstances.

In 1837, he removed to that city, where he remained nearly three years; a portion of the time working at his trade, and also in cultivating a small farm in the vicinity. In 1839 he removed to a farm about three miles from Waukesha, then known as Prairieville. In the winter of 1840–41, he fell while chopping in the woods, and sustained an injury in the back which confined him to his house for a number of weeks. His recovery was slow; it was several years before he could perform hard physical labor. It was supposed his spine was permanently injured. This accident strongly influenced his subsequent career, and seemed to render it necessary for him to engage in somewhat less laborious occupation.

He first visited Madison early in 1842, in company with Rev. J. E. Quaw, a Dutch Reformed clergyman. The Legislature of the Territory in joint convention, February 18, elected him Commissioner of Public Buildings; and at the succeeding session, in 1843, he was on the 24th of March, elected Superintendent of Public Property, the former office of Commissionership having been abolished. The old Capitol was completed or nearly so, under his superintendence; he doing much of the finer work, such as the stair case, with his own hands. Two tables, one in the State Library, and one in the Supreme Court Room, are believed to be the only remnants of his handicraft.

In July of that year, he removed his family to Madison, and in 1846 erected a dwelling house, still standing, on the corner of Car-

roll and Clymer streets, where he made his home until a few years since, when he removed to his farm, two miles and a half south of the city.

The *Wisconsin Argus*, was established at Madison, and the first number issued April 22, 1844. The members of the firm were Simeon Mills, Benjamin Holt, and John Y. Smith—the latter having entire control of the editorial department. It was Democratic in politics, and was emphatically in favor of free trade and a hard money currency, and ranked high as an exponent of those measures. Mr. Smith remained connected with the paper, with some business changes, until April, 1851, when he retired from it.

While engaged in his editorial labors, he was chosen to represent a part of Dane county in the First Constitutional Convention, that met in October, 1846. It does not appear that Mr. Smith made any elaborate speeches, or took a very active part in the work of the Convention, except on a proposed section to abolish the death penalty, when he made a speech against such action, which was published in the *Argus* at the time. The Constitution as framed, as is well known, was rejected by the vote of the people. It is believed he was not in favor of its adoption. Mr. Smith married the second time, July 5, 1847, at Madison, Harriet, daughter of John and Abigail Wright, of East Hampton, Massachusetts. She died September 7, 1851. The children by this marriage were two; both are now deceased. He married again, on the 18th of March, 1852, at Brookfield, Wisconsin. His third wife is Sarah Ann, daughter of Jonathan C. and Achsa D. Warner, of Amherst, Massachusetts, by which marriage he had two sons now living.

Mr. Smith soon became known as a writer of ability. The first of his publications that attracted attention, was a mock message, written by him as the first "Peoples' Governor," or Governor of the Sovereigns, delivered in the Assembly Hall in 1842. This was the commencement of a series of similar messages delivered at the opening of the sessions of the Legislature. It was the means of introducing him to the favorable notice of C. C. Sholes, who engaged him to report Legislative proceedings for his paper. This was his first connection with the press, and from this time until 1851, he was steadily engaged in editorial labors.

In 1861, Mr. Smith purchased the interest of E. A. Calkins in the *Argus and Democrat*, a daily and weekly newspaper, and the

publication was continued by the firm name of Smith and Cullaton; H. K. Smith being an associate editor. The daily issue was continued to January 4th, 1862, and the weekly until June 10th of that year, when the publication was discontinued. During the war he wrote some army letters to the *Chicago Tribune*, and other papers, but did not devote himself to the work of a correspondent. In the winter of 1866-67, he wrote for the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, during the illness of his son, who was engaged on the editorial force of that paper. He was the editorial writer for the *Western Farmer* in 1867-68, and a part of the winter of 1868-69 for the *Sentinel*. For about three months in the summer of 1870, he was editor of the Peoria, Ill., *Transcript*, when he ceased his connection with the press.

On the 24th of April, 1874, while on his farm near the city of Madison, he had his left leg severely fractured from the kick of a horse he was endeavoring to train to service. He remained in a critical condition, with but slight hopes of his recovery; and for several days reason had left him to such a degree that he hardly recognized his friends. His sufferings were intense, and he lingered until the 5th day of May, when death came to his relief. He was in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

Mr. Smith's tastes were inclined towards economic subjects, though he wrote readily on other topics, and his letters, those particularly descriptive of scenery, were graphic and entertaining.

As a public economist he was thorough; he was uncompromisingly opposed to protection, to paper-money, to usury laws, and in short to any intermeddling of the State, as he regarded it, in the industrial and commercial affairs of the people.

As a thinker he was logical, untiring and conscientious rather than rapid. He was usually clear, because he always thought out his subjects patiently and thoroughly before writing.

"It is our boast, indeed," says H. A. Tenney, in his eulogy on Mr. Smith, prepared for the Editorial Association in 1874, "that, in its infancy, Wisconsin had connected with her press, as its most prominent figure, a master mind, deeply versed in the very elements of fundamental law, with sagacity to forecast the future; who would make men think, and of consequence make them studious and thoughtful; and whose productions, both at the time and since, were the pride and admiration of the greatest minds in the

land. Of all the editors who have given direction to public thought of the State from the early period, whose special province it was to teach primary and elementary truths in their broadest sense and widest scope and bearing, we think that it will be unanimously conceded that the name of John Y. Smith stands first, and pre-eminently above all others.

"His mind, it can be truthfully said," continues the writer, "was of the Miltonic cast. He had carefully read and deeply pondered almost every branch of human learning, but his specialties were logical and metaphysical authors. No writer was so subtle or acute as to confound his clear judgment, confuse his understanding or elude his grasp of mind. He examined every problem with severe minuteness; traced it to its fundamental principles, and subjected it to an analysis and critical test, that left little or no residuum for error. He commenced to question just where other men accept without examination. He spent hours and days in profoundest thought, upon propositions the world accepted as standard truth. He was a hard and tireless student, and every production of his pen bore the deep impress of deep reflection and closest examination."

In his religious belief, Mr. Smith was a Presbyterian, and took an active part in the organization of the church of that denomination in Madison, in October, 1851; and was for a long period identified in its management, holding for a number of years the office of Ruling Elder. He not only gave a liberal contribution toward the erection of the church edifice, but devoted his time and labor for one year, working on the building and superintending its construction. To a man of his strong logical mind, the Calvinistic doctrines of his church had a peculiar charm, and few grasped them with more tenacity than he, or were better judges of "sound" or orthodox preaching. He had no sympathy with any church or minister that did not maintain clearly and constantly the distinctive doctrines of grace—the sovereignty of God, the depravity of man, and the atonement of Christ. These truths were not held simply with his intellect, but embraced with his whole heart—his meat and drink in life, and his support and comfort in death.

I have thus endeavored, as concisely as possible, to give the leading events and characteristics of the life of Mr. Smith, drawn largely from an intimate personal acquaintance with him for

nearly a quarter of a century. While not conspicuous in late years in the daily walks of business life, he was one universally esteemed for the uprightness of his character, as well as for distinguished ability, and for his extensive knowledge on scientific and kindred subjects; and he was regarded by many, as the ablest and clearest writer upon them in the North West. Few persons have given the finances of the country more studious and thorough attention.

The amount and ability of labor performed by Mr. Smith, seems marvellous when we consider his early training. He was emphatically a self-made man, with limited school privileges, and in his early experience he knew full well the meaning of adversity. The rudiments of a practical education were obtained when his day's labor was completed, and often by the light of the fire; and by a thorough study of a few sterling works, acquired a vigor of thought and power of diction that few of our most cultivated men possess. His example in this regard, in showing what can be accomplished by steady, persistent effort and application, in spite of disheartening difficulties, is worthy of all praise.

Mr. Smith was one of those men that pass along life's thoroughfare in a quiet, peaceful way. Under the surface of an unpretending and somewhat rough exterior, there was a deep and ever flowing fountain of kindness, and a fund of humor that sometimes sparkled with peculiar brilliancy—of the "clear, sharp kind that was full of point."

In parting with Mr. Smith, we feel that we have experienced a loss that cannot well be replaced. His tall form and familiar face will no longer be seen among us. His departure is a full realization of the idea so beautifully expressed by him: "Our life is but a vapor; not the eternal rock of our permanent existence."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT OF THE WRITINGS OF JOHN Y. SMITH.

1. A series of articles on the power of Congress over the Territories; written before the admission of Wisconsin to the Union, to combat the erroneous idea of Territorial rights, which had almost p'unged the Territory of Michigan into rebellion. These articles are understood to have had much influence in placing Wisconsin in a proper attitude before the Federal Government.

2. Two elaborate papers against Usury Laws, published in the *Democratic Review*, in 1850.

3. A paper on the Agriculture of Dane County, published in the *Transactions of the State Agricultural Society of Wisconsin*, 1851.

4. A paper on the Adaptation of Crops to Soil and Climate, published in the same work for 1852.

5. An Address before the Madison Institute, 1855, on the Rank of the Human Race among the Rational Orders of the Universe.

6. A series of articles against taxing evidences for debt, written about 1856.

7. A paper on the Origin of the American Indians, read, as the annual address before the State Historical Society, Jan., 1859, published in the IV volume of the Society's Collections.

8. A speech delivered at Madison, March 14, 1861, on the state of the country. This was the first vigorous war speech made in the State.

9. A series of articles published in the *Argus*, in 1861, advocating the doctrine, that States by revolting, lapsed into the Territorial condition. These articles were written before Senator Sumner advanced the same doctrine in his *felo de se* resolutions. Subsequently, he prepared a lengthy article on this subject, which attracted the attention of Hon. Amasa Walker, and Hon. Charles Sumner and other political economists and statesmen of the country.

10. A pamphlet on the Depreciation of the Currency, published in 1865.

11. A Review of Senator Doolittle's speech at Madison, Sept. 30, 1865, on Reconstruction, published in that year.

12. A Paper on Eleazar Williams and the Lost Prince, read before the State Historical Society, March 10, 1870, and published in volume VI of the Collections of the Society—an exhaustive article on a subject which had a few years before excited so much discussion, and settling the question beyond all doubt.

13. A Paper read before the Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences, February 15, 1870, on the Laws which govern the Configuration of Comets.

14. A Paper also before the Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Science in 1874, on the Effect of Duties on Imports upon the Value of Gold.*

* Mr. Smith began in the year 1851 collecting materials for a work on "Currency." He spent several months in the libraries of New York and Washington, and subsequently wrote a few chapters, but never completed the work. He also delivered a series of lectures on Political Economy before the Commercial College in Madison, when D. H. Tallis was at the head of that institution.

Wisconsin Necrology--1874-75.

BY LYMAN C. REAPER.

During the years 1874 and 1875, death has sadly thinned the ranks of the pioneers and public men of Wisconsin. Their virtues and services deserve a passing notice, and a fitting recognition.

1874.

On the first of January, Gen. Benjamin J. Sweet died at Washington, aged forty-one years. He was a native of New York, and settled at an early age as a lawyer, in Calumet county, Wisconsin, serving a term in the State Senate. Having aided in the organization of the Twenty-First Wisconsin Infantry, he became its Colonel, and soon after rendered effective service at Chaplin Hills. By some mistake the regiment was ordered to a position too far in advance of the main line, where the men were under fire of both the Union and Confederate troops. Many lives were lost; and among the wounded, was Colonel Sweet, who was so disabled that he was unfit for further field duty. Upon his recovery, he was placed in command of Camp Douglas, near Chicago, where by his energetic measures he detected and frustrated a contemplated revolt and escape of a large body of confederate prisoners at that place, on the evening prior to the Presidential election of 1864. He retired from the service with the brevet rank of Brigadier General; and was subsequently made Pension Agent at Chicago, and then Deputy Supervisor of Internal Revenue; and in all official positions discharging every duty with honor, integrity, and universal respect.

Jacob J. Enos, died at Watertown, January 2d. He was born at Johnstown, Fulton Co., New York, July 5th, 1816, and settled at Watertown in January, 1844, where he became a distinguished lawyer. He was at one time Court Commissioner, and was also

Post Master at Watertown. Though little engaged in public life, he was well known in the State for his talenes and virtues.

General John B. Terry died at Mineral Point Jauuary 11th, in his seventy-eighth year, having been born at Cossackie, N. Y., January 18th, 1796. After having been drafted into service in the war of 1812, he early settled as a merchant at St. Charles, Mo., removing thence to Sangamon county, Ill., and finally to Wisconsin in 1829, where he was many years engaged as a merchant and smelter, serving as a Captain in the Black Hawk war, and subsequently as a member of the Territorial Legislature, and may justly be regarded as prominent among the early defenders and law-givers of Wisconsin.

On the 14th of January, Major Charles F. Legate died at Mineral Point, aged seventy years and three months. He was a native of Leominster, Mass.; went while yet a boy to Boston, and learned the trade of picture and looking glass frame manufacturer. He settled with his family at Mineral Point as a Government Surveyor, in 1836, and being a man of considerable ability and intelligence, soon became extensively known among the early settlers, and especially so throughout the Lead Region. He served many years as a mapping clerk in the Secretary of State's office. He possessed a large fund of anecdotes and reminiscences of the pioneers of Western Wisconsin.

Early in February, one "to the manor born," died, a few miles above Portage City, near the Wisconsin River, Yellow Thunder, a noted warrior and Chief of the Winnebagoes, said to have been over one hundred years old, but very likely considerably less. He probably took part with his tribe, on the side of the British, in the war of 1812.

On the first of April, John Phelps passed on to the other world, from Oregon, Ill., in his seventy-eighth year. Born in Bedford county, Va., August 8th, 1796; early removed to Tennessee, and served under General Jackson in defense of New Orleans; removed to St. Louis in 1818, and on the 27th of July, 1827, reached Wisconsin, and located at what is now White Oak Springs, La Fayette county; was present at the Indian treaties at Prairie du Chien in 1829; served in the Black Hawk war; selected a land location in

1833, near Oregon, Illinois, where he settled the following year, and served his fellow citizens as judge and in other public capacities. In July, 1873, he visited Madison, honoring our halls with his presence. A most excellent man, beloved by all who knew him.

Isaac P. P. Gentil, born at Neufchatel, Switzerland, March 8d, 1807; came first to New Orleans, thence in 1832 to Galena, and in 1833 to Prairie du Chien, where he died on the 5th of April, in the 68th year of his age. He served for twenty years as treasurer of Crawford county, and was honored with other offices of public trust. He was a scholar of the old school, speaking fluently four different languages, and was proverbially genial, generous-hearted, and public spirited.

On the 5th of May, died at his residence near this city, Hon. John Y. Smith, a Wisconsin pioneer of 1828, long a member and officer of this Society, and a valued contributor to its Collections of history. A carefully prepared paper by Mr. Durrie, fittingly commemorating his life and character, appears in this volume.

Sidney L. Rood died at Waukesha, July 4th, where he was on a visit, in his sixty-fifth year. He was born at Manlius Square, Onondago county, N. Y., December 10th, 1809. When quite young he worked awhile at book-binding at Albany, and subsequently engaged in business, first at Fredonia, N. Y., and then at Detroit. In 1845, he settled as a bookseller in Milwaukee, and became well known throughout the State, possessing marked characteristics, a humane and philanthropic heart. He was President of an Insurance Company, and a member of the Common Council. His portrait, a striking and attractive one, adorns our Gallery.

At Elizabeth, N. J., on the 4th of August, Hon. John Catlin passed on to the better world, in his seventy-first year. This Society will long keep his memory in grateful remembrance, as one of its most liberal benefactors. Kind, honest, and generous-hearted, he has left a name inseparably connected with the early history of Madison and Wisconsin. His pioneer life and public services have been worthily commemorated by Messrs. Durrie and Jones, in their respective histories of Madison, and by Judge Braley in the present volume.

Capt. Joseph Keyes, a well-known Wisconsin pioneer, died at Menasha on the 17th of September. He was born at Putney, Vermont, Nov. 20th 1795; became an energetic mill-wright; migrated to Wisconsin in June, 1836, settling the next year at Lake Mills, erecting mills, and founding the village. He subsequently built mills at Cambridge, Dane county. He was several years State Superintendent of Public Property, and afterwards Register of the United States Land office at Menasha. For over half a century he was an active and prominent member of the Masonic fraternity. He was one of the kindest-hearted of men, whose memory will long be held in grateful remembrance.

On the 30th of September, Judge Andrew G. Miller, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, died at Milwaukee. He was born near Carlisle, Penn., September 18th, 1801. Having been appointed by President Van Buren, as Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Wisconsin, November 8th, 1838, he located in Milwaukee, and when Wisconsin became a State, he was appointed, in 1848, Judge of the United States District Court for Wisconsin, and voluntarily retired from the Bench on the 1st of January, 1874. His long term of service extended through the administrations of ten successive Presidents. An able lawyer, and a jurist of extended reputation, his admiralty decisions, growing out of the great Lake commerce, especially taking high rank; and of his decisions in important cases, but a single one was ever reversed by the Supreme Court. Grave, dignified and courteous, he seemed fitted for the judicial ermine, which he wore so long, and necessarily amid many conflicting interests.

Col. Charles Tullar, a Green Bay pioneer of 1830, died in that city on the 20th of October. Born in Royalton, Vt., September 23d, 1804, he had therefore passed the allotted age of seventy years. He was early in the employ of Daniel M. Whitney, in his various trading and milling operations; and subsequently engaged on his own account, in milling and lumbering at Bay de Noquet, and in copper mining on Lake Superior. He was, at one time, Sheriff of Brown county, and Deputy Indian Agent, and was several years in the employment of the Fox and Wisconsin River Improvement Company. He had some eccentricities, lived a bachelor life, was genial with his intimate friends. He was honest, efficient, zealous and faithful.

Otis H. Waldo, who was born in Prattsburg, Steuben county, N. Y., in 1822, graduated at Union College in 1842, and settled in Milwaukee in the autumn of 1849. He entered upon the practice of the law, and by his thoroughness as a student, became one of the most eminent members of the bar of Wisconsin. He was, at one time, a prominent but unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate, a position he was well fitted to adorn; and was President of the Milwaukee and Lake Shore Railroad. He was a man of refined nature, of great purity of character, and a warm advocate of the educational and other public interests of his city: and when he died, the State lost a great lawyer, an eminent citizen, and a good man. His death occurred at Milwaukee, October 30th, in his fifty-fourth year.

At Waukesha, on the 30th of November, Alexander F. Pratt breathed his last. Born in Westmoreland, N. H., September 4th, 1813, he came to Milwaukee in 1836, and settled at Prairieville, now Waukesha, in the following spring. In February, 1837, he traveled over the eminence where our capitol now stands, covered with snow, with no sign of human habitation for many miles around. He subsequently served as constable and deputy sheriff of Milwaukee county, and was twice chosen sheriff of Waukesha county, and in the early part of the war was sutler of Barstow's Cavalry. For the past twenty years he has been for most of the time connected with the press—first as Madison correspondent of the Daily Wisconsin, and subsequently as editor and proprietor of the Waukesha Plaindealer. He was vigilant, faithful and untiring in the discharge of public duties, and possessed an adamant will, a wonderful energy of character, a quick insight into human nature, and an unfaltering devotion to his chosen friends. A ready writer, and a lover of pioneer men and pioneer reminiscence, he delighted to recount incidents and anecdotes of Juneau and his fellow compeers of early times in Wisconsin.

1875.

Hon. Thomas Falvey died suddenly at Racine, of heart disease, on his return from a business trip to Kansas City, on Saturday evening, January 16th. He was born in Clare, County Clare, Ireland, April 21st, 1828; came to New York with his mother,

when five years old, settling at Little Falls, where he learned the trade of a moulder. He subsequently engaged in business at Fulton, N. Y., and settled at Racine in July, 1851, where he engaged in the manufactory of farming implements, and proved himself an energetic business man, and a good citizen. He served as a member of the Assembly in 1855 and 1856, and exerted great influence in that body. He was twice chosen Mayor of Racine, and through his exertions the city indebtedness was placed in a fair way of adjustment. He was noted for his prompt and vigorous enforcement of the city laws, and was distinguished for his public spirit, discharging all the trusts confided to him with commendable fidelity.

J. P. Webster died at Elkhorn January 18th, well known throughout the country as a gifted musical composer, his songs having been sung all over the Union and in England. Among his most familiar productions were *Little Maud*, *Lorena*, *The Dying Volunteer*, and the *Sweet-by-and-By*. He wrote lyrics of exquisite beauty and delicacy of feeling, and then composed music befitting the words and the theme. Many of his songs have excited general admiration, and these "the world will not willingly let die." His character was as gentle and lovable as his music, and his death excited sincere regret among lovers of music everywhere. He had resided at Elkhorn for the past eighteen years.

On the 26th of January, Hon. Adelmorn Sherman died at his residence in La Prairie, Rock County, within a few days of fifty-five years of age. A native of Berne, Albany County, N. Y., he migrated to Wisconsin in 1844, selecting a fine tract of land for his future home, and devoted himself to farming. He was repeatedly entrusted with the chairmanship of the Board of Supervisors of his town, as well as Superintendent of Schools. In 1869 he was chosen to represent his district in the Assembly, and re-elected in 1870 and 1871. He possessed more than ordinary intelligence, and his integrity was unquestioned. In the discharge of his public duties he was faithful and conscientious.

Died, at Green Bay, January 29th, Joseph F. Loy, aged fifty years. He was born in Somerset County, Pennsylvania; came to Wisconsin about 1850, locating first at Depere, and subsequently at Green Bay, and practicing his profession of the law, representing his district in the State Senate in 1855-56; recruited a com-

pany in 1861, entered the Fourth Wisconsin regiment, and served in the Southwest for two years, when he resigned, and resumed the practice of his profession at Green Bay. He was a shrewd lawyer, and possessed many good qualities; was kind, genial, industrious, and greatly respected.

Prof. Thomas H. Little, Superintendent of the Wisconsin Institution for the Education of the Blind, died February 4th, at Janesville, of typhoid pneumonia. When the buildings of the Institution were destroyed by fire in the Spring of 1874, he made the most humane and self-sacrificing efforts to save his pupils from the impending danger; in these efforts, entirely forgetful of self, he was severely burned, which, with the anxiety and excitement of the occasion, prostrated him on a sick bed for many weeks, and, having partially recovered from the effects of that shock, to fall an early prey to the disease that baffled the skill of his physicians. He had the charge of the State Blind Institution for many years, and his success in its management was universally recognized. Wise, intelligent, and energetic, he was devoted to his calling, and deservedly ranked among the ablest instructors in the country.

Capt. William K. Barney died in Madison, February 13th. He was born in Jefferson county, New York; and when a mere youth, his parents removed to Washington county, Wisconsin. In September, 1862, he entered the Twenty-ninth Wisconsin Regiment as a Second Lieutenant, rising to the rank of Captain, and sharing in all the battles with his regiment to the end of the war. Brave, intelligent and beloved, he never shrank from duty. After the war, he served six years as a clerk in the State Land Office; and at the time of his death was one of the city aldermen.

Judge Erastus Foote, who long held the position of first Judge of the Municipal Court of Milwaukee, and had occupied other positions of trust, died in that city on February 16th, at about the age of sixty years, highly respected by all.

On the 19th of February, Hon. Orson S. Head died of typhoid pneumonia, at Kenosha. Born at Paris, Oneida county, N. Y., October 9th, 1817, he spent his earlier years in agricultural pursuits, and in acquiring an academical education, and subsequently studying law under Hon. Horatio Seymour. In 1841 he settled at Ke-

nosha, and shortly after was admitted to the bar in Walworth county, and became distinguished for his thorough knowledge of the fundamental principles of jurisprudence. In 1851 he was elected to represent his county in the State Senate, and was several times chosen prosecuting attorney for the Kenosha District. In all public positions he was able, faithful and honest. He was frank, ardent and impulsive, despising hypocrisy, and never resorting to flattery or obsequiousness.

Everett Chamberlain was born in Newbury, Vermont, in 1839, and removed, when in his eighteenth year, with his parents, to Burlington, Wisconsin. He taught school for a considerable period. In the summer of 1864 he raised a company for the Thirty-Ninth Wisconsin, or hundred day regiment, and served until the regiment was mustered out of service. He had commenced an editorial life in 1863, serving on the *Sentinel* staff in Milwaukee, and subsequently on those of the leading Chicago papers. He contributed largely to prominent periodicals and was the author of a volume on the political campaign of 1872, a work on the Chicago Fire, and another on Chicago and her Suburbs. He possessed a versatile mind, was a trenchant writer, a fine musical critic, a thorough musician; and composed a number of musical pieces that attained a wide popularity. His health failing, he went to Florida, and died at Jacksonville, February 19th, of pulmonary affection, by which the literature of the West lost one of its most promising ornaments. In all relations he was an amiable, honorable and high-minded gentleman. He left a widow and three children.

Died in Waukesha, February 20th, Thaddeus Palmer, who was born in Windham, Connecticut, 1787. In 1816 he removed to Wayne county, Pennsylvania, where he resided till 1860, when he migrated to Wisconsin, to be near his children, of whom Hon. H. L. Palmer, of Milwaukee, is one. Of simple habits, he lived an unobtrusive life, and though of good abilities and ripe information, he never held public office, and died nearly eighty-seven years of age.

Frederick Hollman, a native of Germany, died at Plattville, March 23d, at an advanced age. He established a colony of his countrymen at Vandalia, Illinois, and in 1827 became one of the early settlers in Grant county. He was one of the justices of the peace appointed under the first Territorial Government, and was in

public life to some extent up to 1850. He was well known throughout South-western Wisconsin for his correct business habits, promptitude and open-heartedness. He left a large and worthy family.

Hon. Henry M. Warner, died at Black Earth, Dane County, April 7th, at the age of nearly sixty-six years. He was among the early settlers of Dane County, and soon became prominent in public affairs. Locating first at Cottage Grove, he subsequently removed to Black Earth. He served many years on the County Board, and as an Overseer of the Poor; and in 1848, he represented his district in the first State Assembly. He was upright, faithful, and useful in all the walks of life.

Hon. Armine Pickett, a pioneer of Northern Wisconsin, died at Pickett's Station, Winnebago county, April 25th, at the age of seventy-five years. He located in the town of Utica in 1845, and has been a member of the Legislature, Postmaster, Chairman of the Board of Supervisors, and was highly esteemed by the community in which he lived.

Capt. George C. Daniels, one of the oldest pioneers of his section of Wisconsin, died in Ozaukee, April, 27th, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. Social and genial, he was widely known in Eastern Wisconsin.

Hon. Henry S. Baird, one of the earliest as well as most noted of the pioneers of Wisconsin, and long one of the honored Vice-Presidents of this Society, died at his residence in Green Bay, April 30th, having attained the age of nearly seventy-five years. Judge Ellis has worthily presented the salient points in his life and character in a carefully prepared memoir in this volume. Few of Wisconsin's noble band of pioneers better deserve to be embalmed in the hearts and memories of his fellow citizens than Henry S. Baird.

Died at Fond du Lac, about April 30th, Col. Isaac Thompson, an old resident of that city. Having been badly frozen from exposure the winter preceding, he had become an invalid, and life a burthen; and, discouraged and desperate, he had thrown himself into the river.

At Beaver Dam, May 5th, Rev. Dr. J. J. Miter, at the age of sixty-six years. He was born in Lansingburgh, New York, March

20th, 1809. After receiving an education, he removed to Knoxville, Illinois, in 1837, where he was ordained a minister of the Congregationalist denomination, preaching there four years, when he located at Milwaukee, in 1841. He remained there with great acceptance and success till 1856, when, on account of his health, he removed to Beaver Dam, where by his energy and eloquence he built up a large church and congregation.

Hon. Milas K. Young, for four years, commencing in 1862, a member of the State Senate from Grant County, was killed by a reckless son, May 16th, near Glen Haven village, in that county, who shortly after put an end to his own existence. Mr. Young had, some thirty years before, immigrated from Indiana, and settled in Grant county, where he became a successful farmer. Taking an interest in public affairs, he was chosen a member of the Assembly in 1854, and subsequently served in the Senate. While a member of the Senate, he was a leading worker in the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement, and in all agricultural matters, and had much to do in fixing the large Government land grant for the endowment of an Agricultural College. He was a man of ability, and unblemished integrity.

John Gibbon died June 20th, at Sun Prairie, Dane county. He was born in Ireland, April 18th, 1810; and, when twelve years of age removed to New Brunswick, and, in 1853, to the vicinity of Sun Prairie. He served in the Fortieth Wisconsin regiment as a private; and his five grown-up sons all enlisted in the service of their country. He served awhile as a clerk in the office of Secretary of State, and two terms as Register of Deeds of Dane county. He also served one year as Post Master at Sun Prairie. He was a good man and much beloved.

Died, in Caledonia, Racine county, July 10th, Hon. Henry Stevens, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He was born in Wilton, New Hampshire, Jan. 26th, 1818, received a common school education, went early to New York, where he prospered in business. In 1855, he settled in Caledonia, Wisconsin, where he was chairman of the town board; in 1864, elected to the Assembly; in 1866, and again in 1868, elected to the Senate. He possessed many social and noble qualities.

July 28th, Richard H. Magoon died at Darlington, La Fayette county. He was a native of Washington county, New York, where he was born March 9th, 1799, and emigrated to Missouri in 1819. He was a practical surveyor, and, in 1821, assisted in surveying and establishing the western and southern boundary lines of the State of Missouri. He afterwards studied law at Belleville, Ill., having Samuel McRoberts, afterwards United States Senator, and Thomas Ford, afterwards Governor, as his fellow students; and, admitted to the bar in 1824, he practiced his profession in Bond, Clinton, and other counties, with marked success. In August, 1828, he landed at Galena, and, the ensuing year, established himself in smelting lead at Blue Mounds, and continued largely engaged in the lead trade till 1840. He served as a Lieutenant in volunteer company during the Black Hawk war. He resided at Magoon's Grove, La Fayette county, till 1853, when he removed to the neighborhood of Scales' Mound, in Jo Daviess county, Illinois, where he continued thereafter to reside. His death occurred while on a visit to his son, Hon. Henry S. Magoon; and was greatly lamented by his fellow pioneers and acquaintances. Mr. Magoon was the first person to suggest the formation of an Historical Society in Wisconsin.

Captain Ennias D. Masters died in Jefferson, August 5th, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was an early settler in that county, having located there early in 1837. He was Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate in 1851, and a member of that body in 1859-60. He was an upright, active and influential citizen.

On the 10th of August, Hon. Samuel G. Bugh died suddenly at Mineral Point, at about the age of fifty-five years. He was a native of Somerset, Ohio, a physician by profession, and early settled in La Fayette county, which he represented in the State Senate in 1851-52, and was Chief Clerk of that body in 1854. He held these positions as a Democrat; and, subsequently uniting with the Republican party, some time held an official position in Washington, and for several years was engaged in the postal service, which caused him to travel throughout the West in the discharge of his duties. He was a genial, kind-hearted man, full of good humor, and ever ready to indulge in a joke.

Judge I. W. Webster, of Kenosha, died suddenly, August 14th, in the adjoining town of Somers, of the age of fifty-six years. He

was a native of New Hampshire, studied law with Hon. B. F. Butler, at Lowell, Massachusetts, and settled in Kenosha in 1848, where for more than a quarter of a century he practiced in his profession. He filled the offices of District Attorney, and Post Master; and was three times chosen Mayor of his city, and twice county Judge. He was several years editor of the *Kenosha Union*. A man of more than common ability, of genial manners and popular address, he was respected in the community where his lot was cast.

Colonel William A. Bugh soon followed his brother, Hon. S. G. Bugh, to the grave, dying at Berlin, August 19th, in the fifty-third year of his age. A native of Somerset, Ohio, he acquired a respectable education; and, in 1850, graduated from the Law Department of the Indiana State University. In the early part of 1852, he was connected with the editorial conduct of the *Statesman*, at Madison; and in August of that year, established the *Messenger*, at Berlin, from which, however, he soon retired, devoting himself to the practice of his profession. On the outbreak of the war, in April, 1861, he was commissioned a captain in the Fifth Wisconsin Regiment, and took part in the battle of Williamsburg, May 5th, 1862, in which he was severely wounded in the thigh by a musket ball, crippling him for life, and ultimately resulting in his death. When the Thirty-Second Regiment was organized, he was, in September of that year, commissioned its Lieutenant-Colonel. He found that his old wound, however, incapacitated him for the toilsome duties of the field, and he soon resigned. In 1865, he represented the Berlin district in the Assembly, and the next year was appointed Post Master of that city, which position he held at the time of his death. Wherever known, Colonel Bugh was highly respected.

On the 27th of August, Hon. Joseph McCormick died at Ahnapee, Kewaunee county. He was born in Wyoming, Penn., April 18th, 1787, and was brought up to the occupation of a farmer. He resided awhile in Steuben county, New York, and then in Tioga county, Penn. He served gallantly in the war of 1812, first as Captain, and then as Major, participating in the battles of Tippecanoe, Queenstown Heights, Lundy's Lane, and the blowing up of Fort Erie. He was for many years engaged in trade and adventure in the west. He was elected a member of the Convention to form the constitution of Texas; but his family residing in In-

diana, he did not take his seat as a member of that body. In 1839, and for three successive years thereafter, he was chosen a member of the Indiana Legislature from Fountain county; was Postmaster at Rob Roy, in that State for awhile; and, in 1848, removed to Wisconsin. He served as a member of the Wisconsin Legislature in 1871, when eighty-four years of age—probably the oldest member at that time of any Legislative body in the world. Three years before his death, he was injured by being thrown from a buggy, which doubtless, shortened his days. He personally knew Boone, Clark, Harrison, and many of the prominent pioneers of the west.

Wisconsin's great naturalist, Increase A. Lapham, LL. D., died of heart disease, while alone in a boat on Lake Oconomowoc, September 14th, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Coming to Wisconsin in 1836, he, probably more than any other person, drew attention, by his writings, to the advantages for settlement and enterprise, the Territory, and afterwards State of Wisconsin presented to eastern emigrants; and, as a scientist, his name had become familiar to the *savants* of both hemispheres. For twenty-two years he served as President or Vice President of this Society. The services and memory of such a man deserve a fitting memorial recognition by this Society—a labor of love which must not be unnecessarily delayed.

Jehu H. Lewis died at Madison, October 3d, at the age of sixty-six years. He was born in Belmont county, Ohio, in 1809. He first settled in business in Cincinnati, and came to Wisconsin in 1838, first locating in the Lead Region, and finally settling as a merchant in Madison in 1846. He was very pronounced in his political opinions, was one year chairman of the town board of supervisors: and held the position of United States Marshal of Wisconsin during Buchanan's administration. It was during his term of office that the celebrated Glover fugitive slave rescue case occurred, and he had charge of S. M. Booth while he was imprisoned for aiding in his rescue. The Wisconsin census of 1860 was taken under his direction. Integrity and frankness were his prominent characteristics.

On the twelfth of November, Hon. Alexander S. McDill died at the Hospital for the Insane, near Madison, of which he was the Su-

perintendent. Born in Crawford county, Pennsylvania, March 18th, 1822, after a course of studies in Alleghany College, he studied medicine, and graduated at the Cleveland Medical College. In 1848 he engaged in the practice of his chosen profession in his native State, and in 1856 removed to Wisconsin, settling at Plover. In 1862 he was chosen a member of the Assembly and in 1863-4 served a term in the Senate. He was chosen a Presidential Elector on the Republican ticket in 1864. From 1862 to 1868 he was one of the Trustees of the Wisconsin Hospital for the Insane, in which he took so marked an interest that he was, in the latter year, placed at the head of the institution as its Superintendent. In 1872 he was chosen to represent the Plover district in Congress; and in July, 1873, resigned his position as Superintendent of the Hospital; but becoming weary of political life, on the expiration of his Congressional term, he was again chosen Superintendent for the Insane Asylum, in place of Dr. Mark Ranney, who had died the preceding autumn. Mr. McDill again entered upon the duties of his office in April, 1875, resolving to devote the remainder of his life in relieving the unfortunate class, whose peculiarities he had so long studied, and in whose recovery he took so deep an interest. But his useful career was suddenly cut off. He was zealous, honest and faithful; possessed of strong practical sense, excellent judgment, and popular address. In his death the State sustains a most serious loss.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Both the writer and translator of the Langlade Memoir regret, that in consequence of their distance from the place of publication, they were unable to read the proofs, and consequently some errors crept into the text which may mislead or confuse the reader.

Page 124. Maras should be Moras. In the third line from the bottom, omit "he" before the word "probably."

Page 125. Guyari should be Guyori.

Page 126, note. Lamannie should be Lamorinie.

Page 130. Malenguentee should be Malengueulee.

Page 133. Insert quotation marks before "we," in line 24, and after "Braddock," in line 28; and like marks at the end of the last line of the page.

Page 135. Insert "that," after "know," in line 8.

Page 138. At the end of line 12, supply the word "number," and omit "herdsman of Repentigny" at the bottom of the page.

Page 141. In line 10, for "have," read "have had;" and in line 29, the words "your detachment" should be preceded, but not followed by a comma. The Montcalm-Wolf dialogue, commencing with the last paragraph on this page, and ending with the penultimate line of page 143, is not properly distinguished by quotation marks.

In the note on Johnstone, on page 141, a doubt is intimated whether he was really an aid to Montcalm; but in his Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745 and 1746, 4to. edition, London, 1820, and 8 vo. edition, 1822, he distinctly states that while he served in the Canada campaign of 1759, principally as Aid-de-Camp to M. de Levis, he also served Montcalm in that capacity for a brief period before his death.

Page 142. The second and third paragraphs should constitute but a single one. Substitute the word "method" for "choice," at the end of line 26. The word "militia," with which the second paragraph now closes, should be followed by a semi-colon only; and the sentence should proceed, unbroken by any longer pause, to the word "risk," near the top of the next page.

Page 143. In line 14, "cross to ford" should be "cross the ford."

Page 145. Instead of "so calm" line 11 from bottom, read "as calm."

Page 160. In line 11, omit, "that he" before "had nothing."

Page 161. Sixth line from the bottom, for "captors" read "captives."

Page 162. At the top of the page, the words, "and not Pere Jouvis, as is said by Henry and Parkman," should be in parenthesis.

Page 168-72. Gen. Richard Montgomery, while engaged on his Canada campaign, gave some curious intimations concerning La Corne—by no means, however, conclusive as to the character he ascribed to him. From some letters written by him at the time to his wife, recently published from the originals, in pamphlet form, we take the following—the first dated, "Camp near St. Johns, Oct. 6, 1775."

"I have had overtures for an accommodation from St. Luke Le Corne, and some other principal people of Montreal. He is a great villain, and as cunning as the devil, but I have sent a New Englander to negotiate with him. Three days later, Gen. Montgomery added: "The negotiation with St. Luke ended in nothing. It is supposed the Governor had gotten some hint of it, and St. Luke, in order to acquit himself, made the Indian deliver my letter, which was an answer to his message, to the Governor, who ordered it to be burned without reading it. I suppose he was afraid of making a discovery which would have obliged him to treat St. Luke roughly."

Page 169. In line 6, for "horror," read "honor."

Page 171. Substitute "shrunk" for "shrank," in line 8, and insert quotation marks at the end of the second paragraph.

Page 176. The words, "among the latter was Wa-ba-shaw, a noted Sioux Chief," should be in parenthesis.

Page 180. First line, for "residing," read "resided;" and for "de La Carne," read "La Corne."

Page 186. For Mangras," read "Maugras;" and for "Kitchinafe," read "Kitchinape."

Page 187. For "Auplise," read "Angelique;" for "De Shom," read "Deshour;" and for "Tieunotte, a Chippewa," read "Michel Rochereau."

Page 202-204. The word *pause*, in the vernacular of the old French *voyageurs*, referred to a rest of some ten minutes every hour for the rowers of the canoes; and, on land, the carriers of heavy pack-loads were allowed a *pause*, or a *pipe*, about every three-fourths of a mile, when they would refresh themselves by enjoying a smoke. This explanation comes from John B. Dubay, through Gen. Ellis.

Page 210. The word "with" should precede Ezekiel Williams.

Page 229, note. Capt. Curtis taught school in Prairie du Chien, and died there during the winter of 1833-4.

Page 239. Third line from bottom, for "trial" read "trail."

Page 240. "Haertel" should be "Haertzel."

Page 241. David Kelso should read Henry B. Kelso; Hardwick went to Green Bay in 1816; Rouse in 1817; and Tullar not till 1830. This on authority of Hon. M. L. Martin.

Page 242. To the list of early French inhabitants of Green Bay, mentioned in the first paragraph, should be added Hyppolite and John B. Grignon; and in the third paragraph the number of Grignon brothers should be "seven" instead of "five;" and there was, besides, their half-brother Perriche.

Page 243. The first clerk of Judge Doty's court, according to Mr. Martin, was Robert Irwin, Jr., P. B. Grignon not having been appointed till 1829.

Page 255. Miss Smith was the niece, not the sister, of Capt. Smith.

Pages 258-59. Morse's Indian Report of 1820, states that Lewis Morgan was then United States Agent of fortifications at Green Bay, having resided there four years—hence went there with the troops in 1816.

Pages 269-70. To the sketch of Mathew Irwin it may be added, that he was born January 27th, 1787; was captured by the British and Indians at Mackinaw in 1812; and while in the commissary service, he was present in 1814 at the battle of Plattsburgh. He died in December, 1844, at the age of nearly sixty-two years.

Page 293. The year 1823, should be 1833.

Page 302—note. It is an error that Garrison escaped; he was killed on the spot, then a youth of eighteen. This correction is made on the authority of Hon. J. T. Kingston, whose mother was a sister of young Garrison.

Page 342. Mr. Hubbard's reference to Shau-be-na's mission to Big Foot's Winnebago village, is fully corroborated by a statement in *Niles' Register*, Sept. 15, 1827; and that the Pottowattamies were then friendly.

Page 365. Neenah should be Needah.

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